The Forum

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FARMERS, FALLACIES, AND FURROWS.

American Agriculture, in the early days of the Republic, presented to the world the very perfection of domestic comfort and individual independence. The landlord and the plowman were identical. The proprietors, as a rule, employed very little help outside of their own families. Of course, reference is made here to farming in only the Eastern, Middle, and Western States. And in all those regions it was the custom of the farmer and his family—his wife, his sons, and his daughters—to personally, strenuously perform the duties and functions pertaining to the field, the stable, the dairy, the orchard, and the kitchen. For the first six decades of Agriculture in the United States, the loom was nearly always a part of the domestic furnishings, and it, together with the spinning-wheel, turned out the larger portion of the material for the raiment of the entire family. In those primitive days there was even more anxiety on the part of townspeople to get into the country and become farmers, than there now is on the part of farmers to become city people. The tastes of the people were developed in such a manner as to cause a popular longing for rural homes. The Home was looked upon then as the essential unit of the Republic; and that intense Love of Home —a permanent home in the country—was so strong and vigorous in every community that, as a pure, primary patriotism, it inspired the people generally with a Love of Country; an affectionate reverence for the Union of States, for the Republic.

Thus, in those halcyon times for Agriculture, eleven Presidents of the United States were called from farms:

1. Washington, the land-surveyor and farmer, from Mount Vernon.
2. John Adams, of Quincy, who, during the last year of his Presidency,

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said: "I am weary, worn, and disgusted to death. I had rather chop wood, dig ditches, make fences upon my poor, little farm. Alas! poor farm, and poorer family, what have you lost that your country might be free!"

3. Jefferson, farmer, philosopher, and statesman, from Monticello.

4. Madison, farmer and lawyer, of Montpelier, Va.

5. Monroe, farmer, from Oak Hill, Va.

6. John Quincy Adams, from the Quincy farm of 100 acres, near Boston. ("It is said that most of the trees were raised by John Quincy Adams, from the seeds which he was in the habit of picking up in his wanderings. The most peculiar interest attaches to a shellbark hickory which he planted more than fifty years previous to his death. In this tree he took a peculiar satisfaction, but he was an enthusiast in regard to all the trees of the forest, differing in this respect from his father, who was an agriculturist of the Cato stamp,—was more inclined to lay the axe to them than to propagate them.")

7. Andrew Jackson, of the "Hermitage" in Tennessee, who, as farmer, soldier, and lawyer, was a most excellent type of the best Americanism.

8. Van Buren, of Kinderhook, N. Y., was called to the Presidency from his sheep- and wool-farm, although he was a lawyer of far above average acquirements and ability.

9. William Henry Harrison, from his farm at North Bend, Ohio.

10. Tyler, of Sherwood Forest Farm, Virginia, where he subsequently died.

11. James K. Polk, of Duck River, Tennessee, also came from the farm to the Presidency.

This selection of Presidents from rural homes—from among the farmers of the country—illustrates the fact that in those days there was no profession or calling which held a more exalted position in public estimation than that of Agriculture. Every man who can remember back fifty years will recall the frequency with which he was informed, as a child, that the farmer was the independent citizen, the best off in this world's goods and comfortable appliances; the one man whose virtues, intelligence, and standing in life he might emulate with advantage.

In 1850, 50 per cent of all the people of the United States who were engaged in gainful occupations were farmers. But in 1890 less than 40 per cent represented those engaged in Agriculture. In 1850, five men with the farming implements and machinery of that day produced 500 bushels of grain. But in 1890, five men with improved farm implements and machinery produced 1,000 bushels. In 1850 the average product per man was 100 bushels; in 1890 it was 200 bushels. By improved machinery, therefore, the productive capacity of farm labor has been doubled, so far as cereals are concerned. The production of cotton, however, with the improved facilities therefor, increased with far greater rapidity. That crop in the year 1849–50 was 2,171,706 bales, averaging 390 pounds in weight; but in 1893 the cotton product was 6,700,000 bales, of an average of

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472 pounds net. This indicates an almost quadrupled production of cotton in less than fifty years.

Besides the improved implements of tillage and harvesting machinery, enabling each man to produce so much more for the season's work, and adding to the surplus product of each farm, increased acreage under plow has furnished another, and possibly greater, factor of decline in profits. The increased area of plowed land in the United States must be largely attributed to the operation of the Homestead Law, which came into vigor in 1866. It is safe to say that, under its donations, the area of plowed land in the United States has been more than doubled. This is a very conservative estimate, and is borne out by the increase in the area of settlement of the country and the westward movement of the centres of population. The area of farm lands has been added to, and the acreage of improved lands in farms has very largely increased. In 1860 the percentage of unimproved land in farms, to total land in farms, was 59.9 per cent. In 1870, however, it was 53.7 per cent, and in 1880 it was only 46.9 per cent, while in 1890 the percentage was reduced considerably below 40.

The fall of the prices of farm products may logically be attributed largely to the surprising increase of the American *supply* of those products, as compared with the American *demand* for them; moreover, all the world uses improved agricultural implements and machinery, most of which is furnished by the manufacturers of the United States. All the world is planting, cultivating, and harvesting with more skill, and therefore with less loss and larger results in garnering products, than ever before since the earth was first prodded with a plow. Furthermore, all the civilized governments of the earth have emulated the American Homestead Law. To be sure, they have not adopted its details, but everywhere, in their new colonies and dependencies, the public domain is being bestowed upon actual settlers, as a gratuity. Even little Belgium has been giving away homesteads in the Congo State,—and the Congo State, in Africa, is one of the most delightful in climate and fertile in soil of all the sections of the earth.

The most casual observer, from the foregoing, must conclude that the American *supply* of agricultural products has increased with far greater celerity than the American *demand* for them; while foreign demand has been absolutely banished—forbidden at times—by a Prohibitory Tariff.

Illustrative of the machinery improvements for farm use, the

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Census Reports for 1860 show farming tools and machines in the United States to have been worth, at that time, $246,118,141. But in 1880 farming tools and machines were valued at $406,520,055. The output of establishments making agricultural implements in the census year 1880 was $68,640,486; in 1890 the product of farm-implement and machinery manufacturers was $81,271,651. Instead of having to-day 50 per cent of those engaged in gainful occupations in the United States working upon farms, not more than 40 per cent of the bread-winners of the Republic are tilling the soil. The acreage of the farms has doubled, and yet the number of persons employed upon them has decreased more than 10 per cent, and the machinery of the farm has increased 60 per cent. Nevertheless, American Agriculture is to-day feeding in the home market more than double the population of 1850.

The Agriculture of this Republic has given a solid basis to all its normal manufacturing interests. It has purveyed for every industrious and frugal artisan and laborer in the land an abundance of low-priced food of the very best quality. The farmer has nourished, maintained, and sustained the trade of the United States with Europe and all parts of the civilized globe where Americans make exchanges at all. His products represent more than 70 per cent in value of all the exports of the United States. Selling in competition with all the world, the most serious drawback to the American farmer is *his compulsory purchasing in the "home market" whence all the competition of the outside world is excluded.* This hunting over all the globe for a market as a seller, while incarcerated as a buyer in the home market, gives the farmer that tired feeling which generates discontent.

Some years ago, walking through the Art Gallery in Antwerp, one could have seen, copying from the great masters, a celebrated artist known as Charles François Felu. He was born without arms, but, with an ambition fired with the love of Art, he sought to make himself famous among painters. By patient toil he accustomed his feet to perform the duties and functions of hands. Taking the brush between the great toe and the one next to it, with the right foot, and holding his palette with his left, he mixed his colors, and deftly upon the canvas miraculously limned perfect copies of the best works of the old masters. The individual who would declare, pointing to the elaborate finish, wonderful colorings, and completeness of the works of Felu, "See what Armlessness has done for this man!" would be no better reasoner from cause to effect than the

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economist who says, "See what the American farmer has accomplished by virtue of a high Protective Tariff!" Felu was an artist in spite of Armlessness. The American farmer has prospered in spite even of Morrill and McKinley Tariffs.

In nearly all other countries agricultural production and development have been in special directions. In British India wheat has been foremost, but in the Argentine Republic and in Australia meat has taken precedence; though Argentina is now selling wheat abroad in competition with the United States. But there is no other country which can make a general showing of increased production in cereals, meats, root crops, and everything else, equal to that of the United States. And from this general increase the laborers in urban communities throughout the United States are fed oftener, better, and more cheaply, with wholesome and nutritious food, than any other non-agricultural laborers in the world. The real, genuine farmer in the United States—the man who is at home on his own land, and is content to make for himself and family a substantial and wholesome living, and to properly educate his children and conserve his landed interests, with perhaps making an occasional addition of acres thereto—is not constantly complaining of his lot in life. Census returns show that about 70 per cent of all the farms in the United States are unencumbered. There are no mortgages or other liens upon them. What other calling, what other industry, what other investments for making a livelihood and for producing more capital, can make as good a showing as the farmer's? To be sure, the farmer's profits are less than they used to be. The consumer has stepped in to divide the profits, instead of allowing them to go wholly to the producer. The consumer has changed places measurably with the producer. Formerly the producer was scarcely able to meet the demand for his commodities. But by the use of improved implements and machinery, and by the great increase in the productive acreage which the Homestead Law brought about, the farmers of the United States have been made capable of feeding millions upon millions of people more than in 1850. In short, American *supply* has outgrown the American *demand* in a constricted and congested "home market."

The mischiefs which low prices of farm products presage can be averted. And the most efficacious remedy for evils already accrued in that direction, and preventive of evils to come, is, *to give the farmers of the United States the right to taxlessly buy in the markets of all the civilized world wherein they are compelled to sell.* It is a great

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wrong upon Agriculture to force it to sell in the free-trade markets of the earth, and then restrict, coerce, and bulldoze it into buying the things which it is somewhere compelled to purchase, in the United States, whence, by the high Protective Tariff, all competition is absolutely shut out. It matters very little to the American farmer how cheaply he is compelled to sell his wheat, if he is only permitted to buy other things as cheaply, proportionally, in a market as free as the one in which he sells. Under commercial freedom the purchasing power of the farm's yearly product would buy more at a low price than it can now even at a high price, in a restricted market, which is walled in and guaranteed competitionless to the protectees. The booth privileges of a county fair are not more completely sold and secured to the fakirs who buy them than are the markets of the United States sealed and sold to the protected manufacturers—our National Fakirs—by the McKinley Act.

There have been a great many pretended friends of the farmer abroad in the land, telling him how badly he is abused by Railroads and Banks; in short, by all corporate capital. Until these active pretenders zealously depicted the woes of farm life, few dwellers in the country realized, or even dreamed, that they were being cruelly oppressed, otherwise than by Protection.

Not many years ago there was a great scandal in the Congress of the United States about the distribution of certain Credit Mobilier stock. A prominent alleged distributer of that legislative divide requested a friend of mine—a brilliant Omaha lawyer and orator—to prepare for him a defence. That New England statesman had furnished large sums of money toward the building of the Union Pacific Railroad. He had given a great deal of time and energy to the construction of that transcontinental thoroughfare; and, taking those facts for a text, my friend composed a very vigorous and vehement defence for that Congressman, in which he denounced as slanderers all those who had charged his client with attempting to bribe his fellow-Congressmen, and he did it so zealously and rapturously, and described so pathetically the wrongs which had been inflicted upon the aims and good name of his client, that when the oration was submitted to the defendant, he sobbed tumultuously and copiously wept in paroxysmal anguish. Up to that moment he never had comprehended or realized how much he had suffered. And so the farmers of the United States (notwithstanding even the McKinley Act) never imagined that they were such a dependent, helpless, abused, impoverished, and down-

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trodden set of men, until their self-constituted advisers and friends depicted their condition, magnified their misery, and exaggerated their despair. If all the American farmers had followed their furrows as intently and zealously as some of them have followed the fallacies —economical and political—which their sinister advisers and self-selected instructors have inculcated, there would be a great deal more happiness and far fewer mortgages on many of the homesteads throughout the country.

The American farmers are better off to-day than the workers in any other vocation. In their homes they illustrate the fact that, while they have been protectively unencouraged, and uninspired by the law-making power, to renewed efforts or increased production (except by the Homestead Law), they are, nevertheless, better off than those citizens who have depended for a livelihood upon employment in those industries which are directly dependent upon and stimulated and sustained by statutes and protected by tariffs.

There are twenty-one persons outside of the United States to trade with, where there is one with whom to swap inside its boundaries. The Protective Tariff has so stimulated investments among its tax-suckled infants, that capital has been lured into various protected plants merely to get the bounty, the tariff duty; that is, infants have been thus purposely begotten that they may consume baby-food and enjoy soothing-syrups. But the home market being planned for, and restricted to, one man in the United States, and closed against twenty-one outside of the United States, and the trade of the world being goods for goods and products for products, at times the protected industries of the United States have produced more than the home market would take. We are thus frequently found smothering in our own grease. Occasionally, however, over-production has been averted by "lock-outs." Counselling together, the manufacturers, ascertaining that the market would not take any more product than the stock on hand, have shut down their factories. Thus thousands of people have frequently been suddenly thrown out of employment. Over-production and the "lock-outs" are the constantly returning companions of a Tariff for Protection. The managers of great industries which are carried on by machinery, steam, electric, and water power, can ring a bell and cause every wheel to stand still, and every muscle to go into idleness, whenever the market promises to be glutted. Then their employees become a burden upon the farmer and other "unprotected" citizens. But the farmers of the country, with wheat at

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only 60 cents a bushel to-day, looking out upon fertile fields which promise an abundant harvest for 1894—a harvest which shall add possibly tenfold to the surplus grain now on hand, and probably permanently reduce prices to a still lower level—can ring no bell to stop growing crops, nor by any possible means halt or shrink normal farm production. An overruling Providence arranges the amount of food for His children each year. God in His wisdom has precluded forever the possibility of soil-tillers forming a "trust," and thereby limiting the bounties of their Creator. Therefore, if to-day the wheat-fields of the United States promise an average yield of 30 bushels per acre, and the farmers, looking out of their windows, see it and know it, they have no power to restrict, to reduce, to repress, or to mitigate the yield. The partners and the uncontrollable power-agents of the farmers are sunshine and rain; and, consequently, they cannot limit the output of the plows. Their independent and everlasting elemental partners forbid the formation of a "trust" in bread and meat. But the Protective System breeds and provides for trusts in all its manufacturing industries. And at the same time Protection prevents the farmer from buying where he sells, from exchanging products for products, and compels him to be always the chained customer of the protectees, in a home market whence all competitors are excluded, as fresh air and light and liberty are from the dungeon of a convicted felon.

The American farmer, however, if he reads and thinks for himself, will make his Future far more attractive and alluring than even the best condition that his best Past gave his plowing predecessors. The population of the United States doubles every twenty-five years. The arable-land area shrinks every year, because of improvident tillage. Therefore, the supply of land growing less, and the population demanding the land doubling, land values to-day are not more than one-third of what they will be twenty-five years from now. In the mere matter of dollars and cents, as well as in wealth of mental and moral citizenship, the farmers of the United States must always represent, with their lands and homes, the most permanent, desirable, and solid value of the country. Each owner of a domicile with broad acres should be zealous to conserve, to embellish, his Home—that one consummate product of Civilization—the love of which is Love of Country, Strength of Country, and Preservation of Good Government.

Mythology of old made Antæus the Son of the Earth. And the

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great strength of Antæus depended upon his constant contact with the soil. The gods gave him power to meet all enemies successfully, and to struggle with all vicissitudes and difficulties victoriously, *provided that he always kept in touch with the earth.* Hercules, finding out the secret of the strength of Antæus, who had thrown, in wrestling-matches, all the athletes of his day and generation, cunningly approached, and, by some enchantment alluring Antæus to leave the earth, bore him into the clouds and there easily took his life.

The American farmer is Antæus. Let him keep forever in loving contact with the soil, which, like a mother, will care for him and his so long as he is obedient to the laws of Nature and loyal to intelligent industry. The pretended friend of the farmer, who lectures him upon the abjectness of his political and social situation, who talks to him of impossible financial theories, teaches him economic heresies, and fills him to overflowing with vagaries, is the modern Hercules; and all the farmers whom he has taken into the clouds and mysteries of his sociology and gregariousness, his money fallacies and his McKinleyism, have, like Antæus of old, been deprived of vigor and virility, virtue and vitality.

Keep out of the clouds. Keep in the furrow. Love Home as you love yourself. Love your country better than yourself. And the Republic, made up of Home-builders and Home-lovers, will always find, in time of distress or peril, either from external or internal foes, swarming from those tranquil and beloved Homes, vast armies, with zeal and courage unconquerable, to maintain and victoriously defend its laws and its dignity, its Constitution and its flag.

Fidelity to the furrows—material, financial, intellectual, and economic—which were marked out by their virtuous and patriotic ancestry, and a quick, sharp farewell to the fallacies of Protection and Paternalism, which lead always logically and inexorably to Communism and Anarchy, will reinstate the American farmers in self-respect, independence, and political power.

J. Sterling Morton.

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WHO WILL PAY THE BILLS OF SOCIALISM?

If I were to visit a friend of very moderate means, who was living very simply in a flat, in a remote part of the city, and he were to tell me that he was going to move into a house on Fifth or Madison Avenue; that he was tired, as was his family, of the very restricted life he had been leading; that he meant to give his children better quarters, better clothing, a better education, and more frequent access to the world of fashion and amusements, than they had previously had, I should conclude that he had received, in some way, a considerable addition to his income. But if I found, on inquiry, that not one cent or only a few hundred dollars had been added to it, I should conclude that the poor fellow was insane; that he was laboring under the well-known hallucination called plutomania.

Now I am very much in the same state of mind about the Socialists and ethical economists that I would be about him. I have during the last two years been reading a great deal of socialistic literature, ending the other day with Kidd's "Social Evolution." The principal thing which I have learned from it all is that we are on the eve of a great social transformation. The régime of slavery has passed away; and the régime of feudalism has passed away; and the régime of competition is to pass away, and that before very long. The process began a few years ago, I am told, with the overthrow of the Manchester School. That school taught the doctrine of *laissez faire* as the best rule of living for the community. It taught individualism. It taught that the least possible government was the best. It reasoned about all social topics from the "economic man," a person whose main desire was to get money with the least possible amount of exertion. It was willing to let the ablest man get the best things in life, and so on.

I learn that this is all now to be changed, not because it is not scientific, but because it is disagreeable or inhuman. Government is to interfere a good deal. It is first of all to take possession of the gas- and water-works, the railroads and telegraphs of the country. By and by it is to take possession of all the instruments of produc-

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tion, and see that nobody ever wants work. All the very rich men and the idle men are to disappear, and everybody is to be moderately well off. The differences, whatever they are, between workingmen and other people are to come to an end. According to Kidd, the workingmen are to have the same "social position" as every one else, because "a moderate income is to give as good a social position as a large one." "The position of the lower classes is to be raised at the expense of the wealthier classes." "Education in its highest forms"—which I suppose means college education—is to be within the reach of everybody, and not, as now, the privilege of the well-to-do only. "The sphere of action of the State is to extend to every department of our social life." I might quote indefinitely to this effect from Marshall, from the Fabian "school" of economists, the "historical school" in Germany, and the Ely "school" in this country. In the world which they not only promise us, but which they say is now really near at hand, there will be no distinction of classes. Workingmen and their children will have exactly the same opportunities which professional men and people of moderate means now have. They will have their dinners, their balls, their theatres, their summer trips, their short hours of labor, their libraries, museums, and so forth. I am told this great change is coming very fast, though, as far as I can see, the signs of it are only to be found, as yet, in authors' studies and in college lecture-rooms. Mr. Kidd's authorities about it are chiefly the monthly magazines, Marshall, and an interview with W. T. Stead. The Fabian School cites no authorities at all, producing the whole change deductively out of its own head. Professor Ely bases his beliefs also on his own intuitions. A very large part of the work is to be wrought through "ethics," or "the science of ethics," which, I believe, is the name given by the various schools to the opinions of some of their members about the injustices of the competitive or present system.

I do not, as I have said, see any signs of the new régime in the world outside, except in extension of government interference to some enterprises, "affected," as our courts say, "with a public use." But no hard-and-fast line between government business and private business was ever drawn even by the unfortunate Manchester School. What John Stuart Mill—whom I suppose I may describe as speaking for them, at all events to some extent—said, was that the question what things government should take charge of itself, and not leave to private enterprise, is to be settled by judgment, just as the ques-

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tion what things the head of a family should buy and what make at home has to be settled by judgment. Government is, from the outset, a joint-stock enterprise. To say that it may run a post-office, but must on no account carry on a gas-factory or waterworks, would be absurd. But whether, besides running a post-office, it should also run gasworks and waterworks, depends on time and place and circumstances. To allow the city government of New York to do things which it is perfectly safe to let the corporation of Birmingham or Berlin do, would be extremely foolish. The truth is that the business of man in this world is to make himself as happy and comfortable as liability to death and disease will let him, and not to carry out the theories of "schools" or doctrinaires.

I make this little digression to get rid of the supposition that anything the civilized governments of the world are doing—and have done—for the convenience of their citizens, is to be considered the beginning of any great "movement" or "evolution." They have done nothing as yet which interferes seriously with any man's rational liberty. It makes no difference to me where I get my gas, or water, or transportation, provided I get it good and pure, provided I am not forced to take it if I do not want it, and provided I am not compelled to pay for anybody else's supply. I may say much the same thing of the education of children. Numerous experiments have shown me in various countries that if the State does not undertake the education of children, they will not be educated, and I am so sensible of the value of education to our civilization that I am well satisfied if the State should do it; nay, I insist that the State shall do it. I maintain, therefore, that no beginning of an evolution, or of an organic change in human society, has yet been made by any State. Whatever we are to have in that line is still to come, and it is of what is to come—that is, of what we are promised or threatened with—that I here concern myself.

As I said at the beginning of this article, when a man is about to move into a larger house and change his whole manner of life, he is, if sane, sure to ask himself what the change will cost, that is, what increase in his expenditures it will make necessary. If sane, also, he will follow this question by another, namely, Have I got the money? Now, in reading these stories to which I have referred, of the social evolution through which modern communities are to pass shortly, I find absolutely no allusion to cost. It is quite evident that, when the change comes about, it will make a great increase in

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the mere living expenses of every civilized population, without any increase of income that I can see or hear of. In this it will differ from all previous evolutions or revolutions. When the world gave up slavery, it substituted for a very wasteful form of labor a much more productive one. When, in the eighteenth century, it emancipated the peasantry from the kings and nobles, it gave a great impetus to their industry. It relieved them of enormous burdens incurred for the benefit of idle and frivolous men, and it greatly increased the motives for saving. The French Revolution gave a powerful stimulus to agriculture, and much enlarged the income of the working farmer. In like manner, in England, the introduction of the factory régime made large additions to the national income, and, through this, raised the wages and the standard of living of the working population. What Sidney Godolphin Osborne did by sending the Wiltshire farm-laborers to the North tells the whole story. In fact, the history of all the social and industrial changes of the civilized world during the past hundred years is, in the main, the history of great improvements in money-making, the history of additions both to the national and the individual income. The Manchester School has been much blamed for attaching too much importance to this, for thinking too much of additions to wealth without concerning itself as to the manner in which it was distributed. I am not concerned to defend it against this charge. My point is, that, ever since the fall of the Roman Empire, changes in the social condition of the civilized world have meant great improvements in the social income. No matter who got the money, more of it came in. Everybody who changed his style of living—barring, of course, spendthrifts and swindlers—did so because he knew his means permitted it.

The peculiarity of the social evolution which the philosophers say is now impending is, that it is to be not a money-making, but a spending evolution. Everybody is to live a great deal better than he has been in the habit of living, and to have far more fun. Poverty is to disappear, and real destitution—what the French call "*la misère*"—to become unknown except as the result of gross misconduct. I was one day last winter in the University Settlement in Delancey Street, New York, and paid a visit to the rooms in the top story of the building occupied by Dr. Stanton Coit and his fellow-laborers. They were very neatly and comfortably furnished, but perfectly simple and plain. Dr. Coit explained to me that the aim of those who furnished them was to show the kind of rooms every working-

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man would have "if justice were done." I have since inquired what the rent of those rooms would be to-day in that neighborhood, and am told it would be about $750 a year, or about $14.50 per week. But I am also told that $14.50 is about the rent which the better class of laborers now pay for their rooms *per month*. The general run of unskilled laborers do not pay over $10 per month; so that to do "justice" to a workingman in this one particular would cost somebody about $43 a month. Who is this to be? A rent of $58 per month ought, according to the ordinary calculations, to argue an income of $290 per month. What workingman gets this? If he does not get it, and ought to have it, who is keeping him out of it?

What is the real working-class trouble? What is it that makes their condition a "problem"? Why has it become a question of growing importance in the politics of all European countries, as well as in our own? Why are so many books and pamphlets written about it? Why do so many people feel or affect a deep interest in it? Why does it call out so much "ethical" discussion? Why are we threatened with "social evolution" as a means of settling it?

The answer to all these questions is very simple. It is the workingman's want of money which makes him the object of so much pity, and dread, and speculation. If he were better paid,—as well paid as a clerk, a clergyman, a lawyer, a doctor, a business man,—all the fuss we make about him would be an impertinence. We should bestow no consideration on his food, or clothing, or education, or on his "elevation," or on the elevation of his family. We should have no "ethical concepts" about him. So that the labor question is the question why the workingman does not have more money. The answer is that he gets now all there is for him, and that, if he is to have more, it must come from some great and sudden increase of production unattended with a great increase of population. The income of this and every other country in the world, since the plunder of foreign nations has ceased, is the product of its land and labor. Some of this income goes to pay wages. Some goes to repair machinery and buildings, and some goes to pay profits to capital, or, in other words, to reward men for saving or for supplying long-felt wants. Consequently, to do justice to the laborer and greatly increase his comforts, so that he shall be as well off as anybody else, we must cut down the profits or interest on capital, or seize the capital, unless some hitherto unknown source of supply has been discovered.

Now let us see what would be the result of distributing among

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labor *all* the profit and interest on capital of the entire country. It must be observed, however, that, if we took it all, capital would promptly disappear, and next year, or the year after, labor would have to depend on its own resources. Besides this, the socialistic programme makes no provision for saving; the money is all to go in furniture, or amusements and transportation. The capitalistic or saving class—or, in other words, the class which every year keeps back part of the national income for use next year—would vanish from the scene. We believe "the State" is, in the new régime, to play the part of the capitalist, but it could not withhold from labor the means of living with the comfort required by the new creed.

The total wealth of the United States, according to the census of 1890,—that is, the total existing product of land, labor, and saving, —was $65,037,091,197; the population of the country was at the same date 62,622,250. Evenly divided, this would give $1,039 per caput, or a little more than $5,000 per family on the commonly accepted basis of five persons to a family. If the laborer spent his $5,000 at once in making himself comfortable, of course he would, as well as the country at large, be worse off than ever. He would, in fact, be plunged at once into a very hopeless kind of poverty. But suppose he invested it, it would not yield him over say six per cent, at present rates of interest. This would make his income $300 a year, or about six dollars a week. It is evident that he could on this make no material change in his style of living. Six dollars a week does not go far in rent, and furniture, and dinners, and amusements. We have no statistics showing the annual income of the United States, but if we put it down as six per cent on the total accumulated wealth, we shall certainly not underestimate it. This interest would be $3,902,225,472, which, divided among the population, would give $62.31 a head, or $311.55 per family of five persons,—that is, less than a dollar a day.

This does not differ materially from the results obtained in Great Britain. Robert Giffen, the English statistician, in one of his most elaborate articles a few years ago, estimated the total capital of the people of the United Kingdom, or the accumulated wealth of the nation, at £8,500,000,000 sterling, the population at that time being almost exactly 34,000,000, thus giving each individual $1,250 per caput, or about $6,000 per family, counting, as before, five to a family. If this were invested in England it would hardly give more than four per cent, or $240 a year, which would be a pleasant addition

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to wages, but would leave no margin for amusements, travel, or books, or "swell" clothing. We have no means of getting at the wealth of well-to-do people in the United States, there being as yet no reliable statistics bearing on that subject; but an analysis of the income-tax returns in Great Britain shows that in a year when 456,680 persons were assessed, 118,830 had incomes over £300 a year, the total being £110,565,955. On the assumption that these people ought to be despoiled and made to share with their less fortunate brethren, let us see what would happen. The population of the kingdom in the year these returns were made was 37,176,464. If the income, then, of people having more than £300 a year, were divided among the masses per capita, it would give each individual an income of about £3, or $15, annually. I always wonder, when reading the romances of the ethical economists, whether they have ever taken the trouble to look at these figures. Apparently they have not. If they had, we should assuredly, unless they have gone clean daft, hear less talk about what "the State" or the municipality can and ought to do for the elevation of the poor. The State has no money which it does not wring from the hard earnings of sorely pressed people. If it took, as we see here, every cent they had, it would not be able to make a very noticeable change in the laborer's condition, even for a single year. What the rich spend on themselves is only a drop in the bucket, and they can secure none of their luxuries without sharing with the laborer, through investment.

The notion that there is a reservoir of wealth somewhere, either in the possession of the government or the rich, which might be made to diffuse "plenty through a smiling land," is a delusion which nearly all the writings of the ethical economists tend to spread, and it is probably the most mischievous delusion which has ever taken hold on the popular mind. It affects indirectly large numbers of persons, who, if it were presented to them boldly and without drapery, would probably repudiate it. But it steals into their brain through sermons, speeches, pamphlets, Fabian essays, and Bellamy utopias, and disposes them, on humanitarian grounds, to great public extravagances, in buildings, in relief work, in pensions, in schools, in high State wages and philanthropic undertakings which promise at no distant day to land the modern world in bankruptcy. It will be very well if the century closes without witnessing this catastrophe in France or Italy, or both,—the two countries in which the democratic theory of the inexhaustibility of State funds has been carried furthest. It is

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diffusing through the working class of all countries, also, more and more every day, not only envy and hatred of the rich, but an increasing disinclination to steady industry, and an increasing disposition to rely on politics for the bettering of their condition. The Unions in England have already announced openly that it is no longer to strikes, but to Parliament they must look for elevation, and of course all that Parliament can do for them is either to give them more money for less labor, or to spend other people's money on them in increasing their comforts.

This indifference to cost, or unwillingness to say where the money is to come from to make all the world happy and comfortable, is not confined by any means to our American and English Socialists. It is an equally marked characteristic of those of the Continent. Says the Paris *Temps*, speaking of that latest scheme of pensioning all old people:

> "What are the usual tactics of Radicals and Socialists? They call with loud cries for reforms of all sorts, and vote the principle of them, but always refuse to discuss their financial consequences. More than this, they are among the first to vote remissions of taxes. On one side they swell the expenses; on the other they diminish the resources."

At Roubaix, the other day, the mayor proposed the following resolution: "All invalid laborers and all children should be supported by the Commune and the State." Somebody then asked him where the Commune and the State were to get the money. His answer was: "The money will be taken wherever it can be found." As Director Ely says, it was to be done from a "broad social standpoint," and "the general social effect" only—not cost—was to be considered.

Next in importance to the delusion that there is somewhere a great reservoir of wealth, which can still be drawn on for the general good, is the delusion that there is somewhere a reservoir of wisdom still untapped which can be drawn on for the execution of a new law of distribution. Not only is this current, but some of the philosophers have got into their heads that if our politicians had more money to spend, and more places to bestow, they would become purer and nobler and more public-spirited. This theory is so much opposed to the experience of the human race, that we are hardly more called on to argue against it than against the assertion that there will be no winter next year. We must take it for granted that what is meant is that there is somewhere a class of men whose services are now lost to the world, who would come into the field for the work of produc-

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tion and distribution under the new régime, and display a talent and discretion and judgment, which now cannot be had either for love or money, for the ordinary work of the world. Any salary is, to-day, small for a competent railroad-, mining-, or mill-manager; but we are asked to believe that when the State took charge of the great work of clothing and feeding and employing the community, men would be found in abundance to see that "ideal justice" was done, at about $3,000 a year. Well, there is no sign of such men at present. Nobody knows of their existence. The probabilities of biology, physiology, psychology, and sociology are all against their existence. The opportunities for display of their talents even now are immense, and yet they do not appear. Nobody says he has ever seen them. Nobody pretends that they could be found, except the ethical economists, and they never mention their names or habitat. In fact, as in Bellamy's case, the writers of the social romances are compelled to make them unnecessary by predicting a change in human nature which will make us all wise, just, industrious, and self-denying.

I think, on the whole, it would not be an exaggeration to say that such a social evolution as the ethical economists have planned could not be accomplished, even for a single year, without doubling the wealth of every country which tried it, while making no increase in the population. And this arrest of the growth of population is just as necessary as the increase in wealth. For it is the exertions of mankind in keeping up and increasing their numbers which have prevented the poor from profiting more by the recent improvements in production. Statistics show readily that, thus far, subsistence increases more rapidly than population, and this does much to cheer up the optimists and the revilers of Malthus. But to make a man of any use to civilization, he must in some manner be able to pay for his board. If wheat costs only ten cents a bushel, the man who has not and cannot get the ten cents is clearly a bit of surplus population. He has to depend on some one else for his support, and is thus a burden to the community. Employing him at the public expense does not change the situation, for his neighbors are the public. If they really wanted the work done, he would have something to exchange. If they do it in order to keep him from starving, the demand for his labor is not legitimate, and is only a thin disguise for charity. Population and subsistence are equally balanced, in an economical sense, only when there is a full demand for all the labor that offers itself, a state of things which is never seen now in any of

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the great towns of the world. Let a strike but take place in any branch of unskilled or only slightly skilled labor, and the swarm of applicants for the vacant places, who instantly appear, shows that there is in that spot an excess of people. That is to say, statistics may prove that food has far outrun the population of the United States at large, and yet there will be in New York, and Boston, and Philadelphia, thousands who find it very difficult to purchase it at any price. The Socialists have no plan of dealing with this, except making the successful support the unsuccessful, the industrious the idle, on the same scale of comfort as their own.

I have also learned from my reading that a new "law of distribution" is under consideration in the colleges and ethical schools of the world, and that there is a fair prospect that one which will satisfy all existing needs will be evolved. Now, there are only three laws of distribution of which I can form any conception. One would be a natural law, like the law of gravitation, which automatically divided among all concerned, as soon as completed, the results of any given piece of production, without any care on the part of anybody, and of which nobody could complain any more than of the earth's attraction. Another would be a law formed by some authority, which everybody would acknowledge as final, and to which all would submit, either owing to the overwhelming force at its command, or to the universal confidence in its justice. The third would be the present law, which I may call the law of general agreement, under which everybody gets the least for which he will labor, and the least for which he will save and invest. If there be any other than these, I am unable to think it.

The first of these, I presume, does not need discussion. There never will be any natural distributive force to which we shall all have to submit as we submit to the law of chemical affinity or proportion. The division of the products of labor and capital will always be the subject of some sort of human arrangement, in which the human will will play a more or less prominent part. So that the second of these laws would have to be the result of some kind of understanding as to who or what the deciding authority should be, to which all would have to submit without murmuring. Thus far in the history of mankind it has never been possible to come to such an agreement even on matters touching the feelings much less nearly than one's share of the products of one's labor. No government, spiritual or temporal, has ever existed, which had not to keep in subjection a hostile minority by the use of force in some shape. The Pope in the Middle

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Ages came nearer seeming the voice of pure justice than any other power that has ever appeared in the Western world. But Christendom was never unanimously willing to let him arrange even its political concerns, and I do not think it ever entered into the head of the most enthusiastic papist to let him arrange his domestic affairs—so far as to say what his wages or his profits should be. The guilds came near doing this in various trades, but their authority was maintained by the power of expulsion. When the whole of civil society becomes a guild, this power cannot be exercised, because there will be no place for the expelled man to go. To make him submit, there would have to be some sort of compulsion put upon him. In other words, he would have to be enslaved by being compelled to labor against his will for a reward which he deemed inadequate. Except on the assumption, which the smallest knowledge of human nature makes ridiculous, that everybody is sure to be satisfied with what he gets for his work, any law of distribution emanating from a human authority would necessarily result in slavery. In truth it is impossible to conceive any plan of State socialism which would not involve the slavery of some portion of the population, unless we can picture to ourselves unanimity concerning the things on which men under all previous régimes have been most apt to differ.

It is hardly necessary to discuss the chances of a "State" composed of men of such acknowledged wisdom and goodness that nobody would dispute their ordering of his domestic concerns. But, improbable as this is, it is by no means so improbable as a State composed of men competent to meet the Socialists' demands in their business capacity. The ethical economists never go into details on this subject. They assume, as does Schmoller, that the State—that is, the small body of men charged with the enormous responsibilities of a socialist or semi-socialist community, both with its production and distribution, and the care of its health and morals—would in some manner be a sort of concentration of the virtue and morals of the whole community; that it would, in addition, have an amount of administrative power, for which railroads, mines, and mills now vainly offer almost any salary, and for which nations would give every conceivable earthly honor and reward,—fame, power, money, and enthusiastic homage,—could they get them fort he management of their finances or the command of their armies. As this assumption is so gross and bold that there is curiously little discussion about it, and as its basis is never explained, it may be dismissed as a chimæra.

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Mr. Kidd makes mention, among Socialists' expectations, the expectation that some day the laborer will have the same "social position" as the more well-to-do classes, that is, what the French call the *bourgeoisie*,—the men who wear black coats and do no manual labor. "Social position" is an extremely vague phrase, and yet I think there is probably more hope for the working classes in this direction than in any other. The Socialists mean, I presume, by sameness of social position, association for purposes of social enjoyment on a footing of equality and with reciprocity of pleasure. But the difficulties in the way of this consummation, though on the surface trifling, and, like the thing itself, hard to define, are nevertheless likely to prove very troublesome. The old feudal feeling which made the man who employed labor look down on the laborer as an inferior or semi-menial person has hardly reached this country, or, if it ever did reach it, has died out. Society is consequently divided by what we may call natural lines—that is, by differences of taste, of personal habits, of mental culture and social experience. People of the same "social position" are, as a rule, people who live in much the same way,—that is, with about the same expenditure in clothes, furniture, and cookery, and are drawn together by some sort of community either of ideas or of interests.

But any change which goes on in the way of development or "evolution," in this arrangement, is in the direction of bringing people together socially who do *not* live in exactly the same way, do not belong to the same caste or circle or class. In those countries in which the democratic movement has made most advances and made most impression on the manners,—France, Italy, and the United States, for instance,—differences of fortune are less and less potent in preventing social intercourse. But in no country has the workingman made his way as yet into anything that can be called "society," that is, into any circle which gives "social position." Nor could he be introduced into it by any sort of legislation or any species of compulsion. "Social position" is something beyond the reach of armies or fleets or parliaments. It must be won in some manner. It cannot be accorded or decreed. The difference between a lady's drawing-room full of guests, and a wigwam packed with squaws and warriors, tells better than even science, or art, or laws, or government, the distance the community has travelled in its upward course.

E. L. Godkin.

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THE USELESS RISK OF THE BALLOT FOR WOMEN.

THE Constitution of New York provides that "every male citizen of the age of twenty-one years, who shall have been a citizen for ten days, and an inhabitant of this State one year next preceding an election, and the last four months a resident of the county, and for the last thirty days a resident of the election district in which he may offer his vote, shall be entitled to vote" for all officers that now are or hereafter may be elected by the people, and upon all questions which may be submitted to the vote of the people. The Constitutional Convention sitting at Albany is asked to amend this provision by striking out the word "male."

The total vote of the State at the general election of 1892 was 1,341,617. The effect of the proposed amendment would probably be to increase the voting population of the State to at least 2,500,000. The woman-suffrage question is thus brought to the attention of the people of New York more directly and urgently than ever before. It is a question on which intelligent men and women differ, and which ought to be dispassionately considered, and decided with sole reference to the public good. Prejudice and sentiment should be laid aside.

Will the State of New York be benefited by conferring the right of suffrage at all elections on all women who possess the qualifications now required of men? In discussing this question it will be necessary to consider briefly what the rights and disabilities of women have been, and what they are now. Are they, so far as the protection of the laws is concerned, at any disadvantage as compared with men? Is the possession of the right of suffrage necessary for their protection? Unless it can be shown that this question should be answered in the affirmative, or that the public good requires that the suffrage should be conferred on women, it will be conceded that the experiment of doubling the number of voters in this State by erasing one short word from the Constitution will not be a wise one. On the part of those who are opposed to this action, it is contended, first, that women do not need the suffrage, and, second, that conferring the suffrage upon women indiscriminately would not benefit the State.

Women, as such, have never, in New York, been under any dis-

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ability regarding property rights. Single women, spinsters or widows, have always had the same protection as men with respect to life, liberty, and property. Married women were under certain disabilities at the common law, which prevailed until 1848. This was because the common law, following Scripture, regarded husband and wife as "one flesh." It assumed that the wife's legal existence becomes suspended or merged in that of her husband during marriage. It placed her almost absolutely within his keeping. If the wife owned real estate at the time of marriage, the husband became entitled to the rents and profits during their joint lives. If there were children of the marriage born alive, the husband took a life estate in his wife's lands as tenant by the curtesy. He also became entitled, upon marriage, to all personal property of the wife, in her possession, or which might come to her possession during the marriage. Her earnings belonged to the husband. She was incapable of making a valid contract. The father—and he alone—was entitled to the children's custody and their earnings. Wives, however, had some advantages to offset these disabilities. The husband was bound to support the wife and children, and to pay his wife's debts, even those contracted before marriage. The wife, upon marriage, became entitled to a one-third interest during life in all the real estate that the husband might own at any time during the marriage, to vest in possession upon his death, of which she could not be divested by any act of her husband without her consent. The law presumed that any crime committed by the wife in the presence of her husband was done under his dictation, and that she was not responsible therefor. It was when informed of this principle, and told that in such case the husband, "in the eye of the law," was the more guilty of the two, that Mr. Bumble is reported to have remarked—

"If the law supposes that, the law is a ass—a idiot. If that's the eye of the law, the law is a bachelor, and the worst I wish the law is, that his eye may be opened by experience."

The civil law, which prevailed on the continent of Europe, on the other hand, paid little regard to the theoretic unity of a married pair, and looked more to the personal independence of both husband and wife, holding that each was to be protected in the enjoyment of property rights. And still history does not show that the condition of married women on the continent of Europe was, on the whole, better than in Great Britain. On the contrary, it is a fact, as stated by Mr. Schouler, that "marriage stood well at the common law, and the Anglo-Saxon home has long been proverbial for peace and purity."

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These harsh doctrines of the common law were, however, both in England and in this country, greatly modified by courts of equity, in which the property rights of married women were recognized and protected. It was always, for instance, in the power of a father who wished his daughter's property not to be under the control of her husband, to secure the property which he might leave to her, against the control of the husband or liability to his creditors. Still it must be admitted that the disabilities of married women under the common law were oppressive and unjustifiable. But in the year 1848 it was enacted that the real and personal property of any woman who might thereafter marry, and which she should own at the time of the marriage or acquire after marriage, should not be subject to the disposal of her husband or be liable for his debts, but should be her sole and separate property, subject to her disposal, as if she were a single woman. This act wrought a great revolution in the law as to married women. It has been followed by other enactments from time to time, confirming and extending the principle of the law of 1848. It is now the law of New York that no property, real or personal, belonging to a married woman, is subject to the disposal of her husband. A married woman may take by will, may convey and devise her real and personal property, as if unmarried. She may contract to the same extent, and with like effect, and in the same form, as if unmarried. She may carry on business on her own account, and is entitled to her earnings from her trade, business, labor, or services. No man can bind his child to apprenticeship or service, or appoint a guardian by will, unless the mother, if living, assent in writing thereto. Husband and wife may convey real estate directly to each other without the intervention of a third person, as was formerly held necessary.

In at least one respect the wife has now an advantage, in the matter of property, over her husband. The husband cannot deprive his wife of her right of dower, either by deed or will, without her consent. The wife may, by deed or will, deprive her husband of any interest whatever in her real or personal property, without his consent.

These changes in the law, by which married women have been entirely relieved of the common-law disabilities to which they were formerly subjected, have been made by men. They have put women in a position of at least full equality with men in every respect so far as relates to the holding and disposing of property, or to the capacity to make contracts, or the disposition or the custody of children.

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Women, whether married or single, have the same rights before the law as men. In no respect are they inferior or at a disadvantage.

It may be said that these changes have been accomplished by means of agitation and by woman's influence. If this be conceded, does it not show that woman's influence is just as powerful and effective without the ballot as it could be with it? Does it not show that the appeal by women to men's sense of justice and fairness has been as effectual in securing their rights as if women had actually participated in the excitement and labor of running elections or making laws as legislators?

It is contended by the advocates of woman suffrage that the right to vote is a natural right, of which women are deprived. But suffrage has never been treated as a natural right in men or women. Until 1822 no citizens of New York could vote unless possessed of certain property qualifications. Similar laws prevailed, I think, in all the original thirteen States. In some States now, all illiterate persons are excluded. An arbitrary age is fixed in all, under which none, however mature or intelligent, are allowed to vote. The right to vote has always been, and always necessarily must be, limited in some way. The Declaration of Independence, in its enumeration of the "inalienable rights" of man, did not include the right to vote.

But it is said that the exclusion of women from voting while they are taxed is "taxation without representation." If by this it is meant that, in every government, every person who is taxed is entitled, as matter of right, to vote, such position is entirely untenable. The property of minors is taxed, but no one claims that such taxation is tyranny because the minors cannot vote. The man who owns lands in any State where he does not reside is compelled to pay taxes in the State where his lands are situated, although he cannot vote for the persons who make the laws of that State. But no one would claim that taxation of the property of a non-resident is such "taxation without representation" as was objected to by our forefathers. Does any one imagine that if the colonies, as such, had been represented in the British Parliament, those who by the laws of the colonies were not entitled to vote for such representatives would have raised the cry of "taxation without representation"? If there had ever been any discrimination *against* women in the matter of taxation, or if there were reason to apprehend that women would be taxed at a greater or more oppressive rate than men, there might be some ground for this argument. But as it is, when there has never been

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any suggestion that women should be discriminated against in the matter of taxation, the complaint of "taxation without representation" is utterly without foundation.

I might mention other instances in which the laws of New York have been amended to put women upon an equality with men. A few years ago, a woman applied for admission to the bar of this State. It was found that the existing laws did not permit women to practise law, and on that ground the court denied the application. What was the result? The very next legislature that met, changed the law so as to open the door of the legal profession to every woman who might desire to enter it, provided she possessed the qualifications required of male applicants. We all know that many women have entered the medical profession, and have achieved great success therein. There is no law excluding them from the pulpit. I am not aware that there is now any profession or occupation in the State of New York from which women are by law excluded.

The legislature of 1892 passed a law permitting women, otherwise qualified, to vote for school commissioners. That law was held by the Court of Appeals to be unconstitutional. But the advocates of woman's suffrage are not now content with a modification of the Constitution which would enable the legislature to enact a law giving to women the right to vote for such officers, or conferring the right of suffrage on women in special cases and with reasonable limitations. By striking out the word "male" they propose to confer the right to vote, at once, upon all the women of the State, good, bad, and indifferent, provided they have the qualifications now required of male citizens. Distinction of sex, so far as it affects this right, is to be abolished.

I shall not here make any attempt at a full statement of the reasons why the opponents of the proposed amendment think the State will not be benefited by adding a million and a quarter of women to its voting population. Besides, the discussion for some time going on in the public press and elsewhere has been so full that it would be presumptuous to enter upon anything like a complete argument here. I will only make a few suggestions upon one or two points which have not hitherto been made prominent.

1. False registration and repeating are now the great obstacles to honest elections in cities. There is great difficulty in detecting registrations by fictitious names, especially in city districts which contain great numbers of boarding- and tenement-houses. This evil would be very greatly increased by admitting women to the suffrage.

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Most of the class of women hereinafter referred to are known by fictitious names, and often by various names. It would be almost impossible to purge the registration lists from false names of women under which repeating could be accomplished to an indefinite extent.

2. Republican institutions are threatened by the prevalence of bribery and corruption more than by any other cause. Is there any reason to believe that any less proportion of women than of men will be subject to such influences? In answering this question an unsavory fact must be plainly stated and squarely looked in the face. The number of prostitutes in the city of New York alone has been estimated at from 30,000 to 50,000. Every city in the State adds its quota to this disreputable army. These women, who live by selling themselves, soul and body, would of course sell their votes. There is no class among the present voting population analogous to this degraded and unfortunate army of lost women. A large proportion of them would be made legal voters by the proposed amendment. They would be enough to turn the scale in a close State election. We frequently now have the spectacle of politicians appealing to the "liquor vote," the "Irish vote," the "German vote," the "Catholic vote," the "Jewish vote," and the "Protestant vote." We have even heard (on one occasion only) of a suggestion by a practical politician that it might be expedient *sometimes* to "pander to the better element"; but so far no candidate has felt obliged to pander to the "prostitute vote." Would bringing this element into politics tend to purify the suffrage or to improve the condition of the State?

3. While it is freely conceded that there are many women who by character, ability, and education are eminently qualified to exercise the suffrage,—much better qualified than some men,—still it must also be conceded that there are many distinctions, physical and mental, between men and women, as classes, which in the judgment of many intelligent people of both sexes render it inexpedient that the duty and burden of the suffrage should be imposed upon women. That women are, as a rule, more emotional and have less self-restraint, and are by nature more bitterly partisan and extreme than men, cannot well be denied. It is illustrated clearly in the discussion now in progress on the subject of woman suffrage. A distinguished advocate of woman suffrage, herself a woman of intellect and refinement, is reported in a recent speech to have said, "We have but one slave in New York State, and that slave is woman." This statement shows either a very inadequate conception on the part of the oratrix

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as to the nature and characteristics of slavery, or an irrepressible tendency to extreme exaggeration. A person having absolute control of her own property, her own person, and her own liberty, having every right that any citizen of the State has, though not permitted to vote, would not certainly like to be called "a slave" by any one but herself, and could not be brought within any recognized definition of the word. In the same speech the speaker is also reported to have said that "the women who are against woman suffrage have placed themselves on a plane with the worst and lowest elements the world has ever produced." If such language can be used by a refined and cultivated woman with reference to women, equally refined and cultivated, who do not happen to agree with her, what kind of political discussions are we to expect, when women are freely admitted to the ballot, from the more reckless and ignorant of the same sex? If women become active participators in practical politics, we shall have female "bosses," woman "heelers," lady "ward-politicians," female "rings," and "deals" between the different "rings" masculine and feminine. Will this elevate or purify politics? Will its tendency be to "raise mortals to the skies," or to "drag angels down?"

The advocates of woman suffrage are fond of quoting the deservedly eminent names of men and women who have expressed themselves in favor of the proposed change. They do not refer to the much greater number of eminent men and women who disagree with them. Questions of this kind are not to be decided by authority alone. If they were, old-fashioned people would naturally quote St. Paul, who said, "I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence;" or where he says: "Teach the young women to be sober, to love their husbands, to love their children, to be discreet, chaste, *keepers at home*, good, obedient to their own husbands, that the word of God be not blasphemed."

But I must not forget that the "chief of the apostles" may, by the advocates of woman suffrage, be considered as far behind the age. The questions involved are to be decided by the deliberate judgment of the men and women of this, the closing decade of the nineteenth century. There is little doubt, I apprehend, that the intelligent and patriotic men and women of New York, after weighing well all that can be said on either side of the question, will come to the conclusion that the general welfare of the State will not be promoted by imposing upon women the burden of participating in practical politics, by conferring upon them the suffrage.

MATTHEW HALE.

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RESULTS OF THE WOMAN-SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT.

THE present moment marks the beginning of a new period in the history of the agitation for woman suffrage, the period of unconstitutional legislation. It is therefore interesting to review the three preceding periods, and to ascertain just what has been settled and determined by the supreme law of the land. These three periods, each overlapping the other in point of time, are: 1. The period of the extension of full suffrage to the women of certain of the Territories, beginning with Wyoming in 1869. 2. The period of attempts to vote, under the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution of the United States. 3. The period of attempts to amend the State and National Constitutions, and of the extension of school suffrage to women. A fourth period, as mentioned above, is that of unconstitutional suffrage laws.

First, however, it is interesting to note the experience of New Jersey in the last century. Women were legal voters in New Jersey from 1776 to 1807. The Constitution of New Jersey, adopted July 2, 1776, contained the provision (Art. IV.) that—

—"all *inhabitants* of this colony, of full age, who are worth £50 proclamation money clear estate in the same, and have resided within the county in which they claim a vote for twelve months immediately preceding the election, shall be entitled to vote for representatives in council and assembly, and also for all other public officers that shall be elected by the people of the county at large."

Under this provision, women and free colored men of property exercised the electoral franchise for thirty years. The acts of the New Jersey legislature of 1790 clearly recognize the women voters:

"No person shall be entitled to vote in any other town-house or precinct than that in which *he* or *she* doth actually reside at the time of election."[1]

But in 1807 the legislature passed an act defining the qualifications of electors, excluding women and free colored men by the use of the words "white male citizens." This was a partisan piece of legislation, and clearly in violation of the constitutional guarantee. It was enacted by a Democratic legislature, as a political measure, to disfranchise Federalists, as the women very generally voted the Federal ticket. Charges were, however, made, that male voters had

[1] Acts of 1790, c. 321, § 11.

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"repeated," by disguising themselves as women and negroes, and on the strength of these the act was passed. It was clearly unconstitutional, and would have been so declared by the courts, but it does not appear that its validity was ever contested. By the adoption in 1844 of a new Constitution restricting the ballot to "white male citizens," the women of New Jersey were disfranchised, this time lawfully, by the supreme law of the State.

Women voted in New Jersey in the Presidential election of 1804, when Thomas Jefferson was re-elected for a second term. Previously to that election the Presidential electors were chosen in New Jersey by the legislature. In 1892 the women of the new State of Wyoming participated in a Presidential election which resulted in the choice of Grover Cleveland, who was the first President since Jefferson to be elected by the aid of women's votes.

The recognition of woman's right to the ballot in New Jersey was due to the influence of a preacher of the Society of Friends, a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1776. It is an isolated instance in our country, although the common law of England had always recognized the right of a woman property-owner to vote. The right, however, was not generally exercised. Its modern recognition by the passage of statute laws and the adoption of constitutional amendments dates, in most part, from the agitation of advocates of woman suffrage, which first found formal expression in the woman's-rights convention at Worcester, Massachusetts, in 1850. The first enduring result of this agitation was the adoption by Kansas, in 1861, of school suffrage for women; but many years elapsed before school-suffrage laws were adopted in other States, and so the school suffrage period is chronologically subsequent to other periods in the legal history of the movement.

Our first period, clearly marked in the annals of the courts, is that of the extension of full suffrage to the women of some of the Territories; namely, Wyoming, Utah, and Washington. A Territory, unlike a State, has no Constitution, but it derives its frame of government and power to make laws from an act of Congress. This Organic Act for the regulation of the Territorial governments provides that, at the *first* election in any Territory, male citizens of the age of twenty-one years shall vote, but—

—"at all subsequent elections . . . the qualifications of voters and for holding office shall be such as may be prescribed by the legislative assembly of each Territory,"—

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—subject, nevertheless, to certain specified restrictions, of which the first, and the only one having a bearing on woman's vote, is as follows:

"The right of suffrage and of holding office shall be exercised only by citizens of the United States above the age of twenty-one, or persons above that age who have declared their intention to become such citizens."

Under this Organic Act, the first legislative assembly of Wyoming, in 1869, gave to women the right to vote and to hold office upon the same terms as men. An effort to repeal this statute, in 1871, failed, and from 1869 to the present time the women of Wyoming have had full political rights equally with men, rights now secured by Article VI. of the State Constitution ratified November 5, 1889.

In 1870 the Territory of Utah, by legislation, also extended to its women citizens the electoral franchise; but in 1882, by an act of Congress, polygamists of both sexes were disfranchised, and in 1887 all Utah women were disfranchised by the Anti-Polygamy Act, commonly called the Edmunds Bill. It is settled by the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States that the Territorial legislatures have power, by force of the Organic Act, to confer the elective franchise upon female as well as male citizens. This is recognized in the cases entitled *Murphy* v. *Ramsey*, 114 U. S. 15, decided in 1885, which were appeals from the Boards of Commissioners of Elections in Utah. Certain men and women had had their votes challenged on the ground that they were living in polygamy. The Supreme Court of the United States found that two of the women were *not* living in polygamy, and that consequently their votes had been illegally rejected. In 1890 the same court again construed the suffrage clause of the Organic Act in *Davis* v. *Beason*, 133 U. S. 333, known as the Idaho Test-Oath case, and expressly stated that—

—"these limitations [of age, citizenship, and residence] are the only ones placed upon the authority of Territorial legislatures against granting the right of suffrage or of holding office. They have the power, therefore, to prescribe any reasonable qualifications of voters and for holding office, not inconsistent with the above limitations."

This case decided that polygamists may lawfully be excluded from the franchise, while the former case (*Murphy* v. *Ramsey*) recognizes the right of Congress to disfranchise polygamists.

In 1883 the Territorial legislature of Washington passed an act entitled "An act to amend section 3050, chapter 238, of the Code of Washington," but its real purpose and actual effect was to extend full suffrage to women. In 1887, in the case of *Harlan* v. *Territory*, 3

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Wash. 131, a doubt was thrown by the Supreme Court of the Territory upon the validity of the law, as defective in its title; for by act of Congress each law passed in any Territory must "embrace but one object, which shall be expressed in its title." From this opinion of a majority of the court Chief Justice Greene totally dissented, but in 1888 a new chief justice was elected to take his place, and the decision in *Harlan's case* was re-affirmed in two more cases. These were all cases of criminal prosecutions against keepers of gambling and other disreputable resorts, and conviction was secured by a jury composed in part of women. The prisoners appealed, on the ground that married women, living with their husbands, were not eligible to serve as jurors. Immediately after the decisions of the court in 1888, the legislature re-enacted the woman-suffrage law, entitling it "An act prescribing the qualifications of electors in the Territory of Washington," but added a proviso that women shall not serve as jurors. This act was approved by the governor January 18, 1888. But the hostile court in August of the same year rendered a decision in the election case of *Bloomer* v. *Todd*, 3 Wash. 599, to the effect that the law of January 18, 1888, is in conflict with the Organic Act of Congress for the establishing of governments in the Territories, which, in the opinion of the Territorial court of Washington, restricts the suffrage to male citizens only. Of course this decision is in direct conflict with the opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States, which is the highest authority in the land, and would have been reversed had the case of *Bloomer* v. *Todd* been brought before that court. But at that time the controversy assumed a new aspect by the application of Washington for admission as a State. Separate articles to the Constitution were framed, extending full political rights to women, to be voted upon apart from the body of the Constitution. In 1889 the Constitution was ratified, but the separate articles were rejected. Hence the only permanent result of this agitation has been the enfranchisement of the women of Wyoming.

The second period was inaugurated by the adoption of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution of the United States. These were intended to protect the negroes of the South by guaranteeing the privileges and immunities of citizens, and forbidding the abridgment of rights, especially those of suffrage.

The advocates of woman suffrage, however, thought that these Amendments might have opened a door to the polls for women, and that it would be worth while to try to vote, to see if their view of

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the case would be sustained by the courts. Consequently in various sections of the country attempts were made by women to compel the registrars of elections to register them as legal voters, and, upon refusal, the cases were appealed to the courts, the plaintiffs invoking the aid of the constitutional amendments above cited. This began in 1871 or 1872. The most famous case is that of *United States* v. *Anthony*, 11 Blatchf. C. Ct. 200, decided in 1873. Miss Anthony was indicted and found guilty of a criminal offence against the United States for knowingly voting for Congressmen in New York without having a lawful right to vote, which offence was punishable, under act of Congress, by a heavy fine or imprisonment.

Women in Pennsylvania, California, Missouri, and the District of Columbia sued the election officers for refusal to accept their votes or to allow them to register. The uniform decision in each court was that the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments had in no way changed or abridged the right of each State to restrict the suffrage to males, but that they applied only to the freedmen of color and to existing rights and privileges.[1]

This phase of the controversy was finally disposed of by Mrs. Minor's appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States[2] from the decision of the Missouri court against her claim to be registered as a voter. The opinion of the Supreme Court is in accordance with the decisions of the State courts cited above, and has established the fact that the Constitution of the United States, in its present form, neither grants nor forbids the elective franchise to women, but leaves each State free to admit or exclude them as it sees fit; that, although women are citizens in the sense of being members of the nation, they are not, therefore, of necessity voters, for the right of suffrage is not co-extensive with citizenship, as is shown by the fact that in the early history of the country most of the States limited the suffrage to those citizens who possessed a certain amount of landed property; nor was it co-extensive with citizenship at the time of the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment. That Amendment does not confer additional privileges or immunities of citizenship, but simply guarantees the protection of the citizen in the privileges he already possessed.

By this decision, therefore, it is settled that the separate States

[1] See Burnham *v.* Laning, 9 Phila. 241 (1871); Van Valkenburg *v.* Brown, 43 Cal. 43 (1872); Spencer *v.* Board of Registration, and Webster *v.* Superintendents of Election, 1 MacArthur 169 (1873).

[2] Minor *v.* Happersett, 21 Wall. 162 (1874).

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of the Union alone possess the power to admit or exclude women to political rights, and that the national government has no power either to admit or exclude the women of the States, unless the States see fit to surrender their power to the United States. This, of course, the States can at any time do, in the way in which they may surrender other powers; namely, by an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the States. Such an amendment has frequently been presented to Congress and has once been favorably reported by a Congressional committee, but no further action has as yet been taken. Meanwhile, each State retains its right to admit or exclude its women citizens by virtue of the Tenth Amendment to the United States Constitution:

"The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

This judicial ultimatum of the supreme authority of the nation caused the espousers of woman's political freedom to turn to the State governments for help, and led to the constitutional-amendment and school-suffrage period. Attempts to amend the State Constitutions came naturally in order. No such attempt has as yet been successful. In Michigan in 1874, in Ohio in 1875, in Nebraska in 1881, in Oregon in 1882, and in Rhode Island in 1887, such proposed amendments were rejected by the voters. The rejection of the separate articles in favor of woman suffrage at the time the State Constitution of Washington was adopted in 1889 has already been mentioned.

Two of the newer States, Colorado and South Dakota, placed in their Constitutions an article requiring the legislature at its first session to pass an act extending full suffrage to women, such act to have the force of a law only upon ratification by the voters at the next election immediately following the passage of the act, and in case of its rejection, the legislature is authorized to pass such an act at any subsequent session, to take effect upon ratification by the voters as provided in the first instance. In Colorado in 1877, and in South Dakota in 1890, the voters rejected the woman-suffrage bill, but in November, 1893, in the State of Colorado, full suffrage was duly extended to women by act of the legislature and subsequent ratification. In Kansas, in 1887, by an act of the legislature without a constitutional amendment, women were empowered to vote at all municipal elections and to hold all municipal offices.

In most of our States the original Constitution did not attempt to

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regulate matters relating to the public schools. Consequently the legislatures of such States could constitutionally pass acts extending the ballot on such matters to women. Nineteen States and Territories have passed such laws, of unquestioned validity. These are Kentucky, in 1845; Kansas, 1861; Michigan, 1875; Colorado, 1876; Minnesota, 1877; New Hampshire and Oregon, 1878; Massachusetts, 1879; Vermont, 1880; Nebraska, 1883; Washington, 1886; North and South Dakota, Idaho, Arizona, Montana, and New Jersey, 1887; Connecticut, 1893; and New York, in respect to the original New York law of 1880. In Kansas, Colorado, Minnesota, Washington, North and South Dakota, Idaho, and Montana the right is guaranteed in the Constitution itself.

The Wisconsin law of 1885 was doubted, not as to its constitutionality, but because of its defective provision for the casting of women's ballots. This defect was cured, in part at least, by the Australian ballot law of 1891.

The new State of Montana has a constitutional provision (Art. IX. sec. 12) extending to women taxpayers the right to vote equally with men taxpayers "upon all questions submitted to the vote of the taxpayers of the State or any political division thereof."

It will be observed that while the school-suffrage laws of Kentucky (limited originally to widows having children of school age) and of Kansas are of early date, the great bulk of this legislation is subsequent to 1874, when Chief Justice Waite's opinion in *Minor* v. *Happersett* indicated the true line of effort.

There are several instances of statutes, ordinances, and municipal charters which allow some form of suffrage to women, within a limited territory, not covering an entire State. Such are: the statute extending school suffrage to the women of the city of Wilmington, Delaware; that allowing the women taxpayers of Cooperstown, N. Y., to vote on local improvements; the occasional special laws submitting a vote on local improvements to the taxpayers of a city or town, irrespective of sex; and the provision of law in Arkansas and Missouri allowing women to sign petitions for or against the granting of liquor licenses. All these, however, are limited either to special occasions or specified localities, and in themselves are merely straws on the current indicating the direction in which it is setting.

We come now to the present phase of the controversy, the period of unconstitutional suffrage laws. In Illinois the law of 1891 conferring school suffrage upon women has been declared by the Supreme

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Court of that State to be in part unconstitutional; the New York law of 1892 allowing women to vote for school commissioners is held by the Court of Appeals to be unconstitutional; the municipal-suffrage law of Michigan of 1893 has met the same fate; and the governor of California in 1893 vetoed the school-suffrage bill on the ground of its unconstitutionality. Warned by these *faux pas* in other States, the Massachusetts legislature adopts as its motto *Festina lente*, and pauses to ask the Supreme Judicial Court whether it would be constitutional to pass a municipal-suffrage bill which is conditioned upon a ratification by the voters at the polls to become a law.

In view of the passage of so many unconstitutional laws we may almost believe that the schoolboy gave a correct definition when he said, "The Constitution is the part of the book at the end which nobody reads." The governor of California read his Constitution, however, and read it aright. That voluminous document, regarded by Professor Bryce as a type of the newer constitutions which narrow the competence of the legislature and restrict its power to legislate, is copied in full in his "American Commonwealth." Article IX. of that instrument, entitled *Education*, provides for the election of a superintendent of public instruction and of county superintendents of schools, and prescribes the qualifications of electors for such offices. The school-suffrage bill, enabling women to vote at *any* school election and to hold any school office, was clearly in excess of the powers of the legislature, and the governor very properly vetoed it.

The difficulty with the New York and Illinois statutes was that the school-suffrage act authorized women to vote for school commissioner (in New York) or county superintendent of schools (in Illinois), officers who are specifically named and provided for in the Constitution of each State, and in consequence they can only be voted for by electors possessing the qualifications enumerated in the Constitution; that is, by "male" electors. To confer upon women the right to vote for these officers the Constitution must be amended.[1]

In Michigan, the municipal suffrage law was held unconstitutional on the ground that the Constitution of Michigan gives the legislature no power to change the qualifications of electors as prescribed by the Constitution, "for all elections."[2]

The court distinguishes between school elections and municipal

[1] See Ahrens *v.* Cook County Commissioners, Ill. Sup. Ct., Feb., 1892, and Gage's case, N. Y. Ct. of Appeals, Jan. 24, 1894.

[2] Coffin *v.* Election Commissioners, Sup. Ct. Mich., November, 1893.

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elections. The former, with all matters relating to the public schools, are by the Constitution of Michigan given entirely into the power of the legislature for regulation, which therefore has power to extend to women the right to vote at school elections. But to enable women to vote at other elections, a constitutional amendment is necessary.

It will be observed that the older Constitutions of our States do not, as a rule, deal with the school system, while the Constitutions of our new States and the newer Constitutions of older States do include the schools in their specific provisions. Indeed, these newer Constitutions contain a mass of ordinary law on matters which formerly were left to the legislatures, such as, for instance, education, the property rights of married women, corporation and railroad law, State and municipal indebtedness, and the mode of choosing minor officials. But the older Constitutions—as, for instance, that of Massachusetts, adopted in 1780 and still in force—give to the legislatures the widest possible power of law-making, limited only by a few express provisions in the body of the Constitutions. Consequently, in Massachusetts,[1] the legislature has the power to extend municipal suffrage to women, and a statute conditioned for its validity upon a ratification by the people at the polls would be unconstitutional.

This is the ancient theory of the relation of the legislature to the people, as shown in the colonial charters. But the tendency of our times is to regard the legislature as a mere—

—"body of agents, exercising delegated and restricted powers, and obliged to recur to the sovereign people (by asking for a constitutional amendment) when it seeks to extend these powers in any particular direction."[2]

Such being the case, it is indispensable that the advocates and framers of a bill for the extension of the suffrage, or indeed for many other kinds of legislation, should be perfectly informed as to the legal construction and effect of the relation of the legislature to the Constitution in the State where the bill is to be debated. It will become more and more difficult for legislatures to enact a law extending the suffrage to women; for, as a rule, it will be found that, the later the date of a State Constitution, the smaller the probability that the legislature has power to do this. Consequently the only sure way to extend the electoral franchise to women will be by the adoption of an amendment to the Constitution, or by securing a specific provision when a new Constitution is framed; in other words, by recourse to

[1] Opinion of the Justices, Feb. 28, 1894.
[2] Bryce, "American Commonwealth," Vol. I., p. 436.

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the expression of the sovereign will of the people as embodied in the supreme law, the Constitution.

It is perhaps unnecessary to add that the adoption of a constitutional amendment, accomplished as it is by popular vote at a general election, is the surest proof that the community as a whole desires its women citizens to vote. Public sentiment will therefore enforce the law, and two chief objections to the political enfranchisement of women will be removed,—first, that the male citizens of the community do not want women to vote, and secondly, that the women citizens of the community do not want to vote and will not do so when the privilege is extended to them.

The legal results of the agitation for woman suffrage mark the successive stages of the popular demand. Until the era of school-suffrage legislation, the question excited little interest among the people at large, and scarcely more among women in general than among men. Indeed, the effect upon the popular mind of the determined attempts to cast a ballot by certain women already mentioned in this article was unfavorable to the popular advancement of the cause, the attempts being looked upon by the general public as an exhibition of determined defiance of existing laws, rather that what th ey really in most instances were; that is, a necessary preliminary step to bring a test case before the courts, to obtain a legal decision for or against the actual existence of woman's right to the ballot.

The proposal to extend suffrage to women on school matters was so conservative and so evidently one within the limits of "woman's sphere," even in the view of those who would bound the sphere by the smallest circumference, that it won general approval, and little difficulty was experienced in passing through many State legislatures bills thus extending the suffrage. The year 1887 shows the high-water mark of popular interest in this phase of the question, no less than five States and Territories having passed school-suffrage laws.

But the failure of the attempts, during this same period, to extend full suffrage to women by constitutional amendment, shows that popular interest was not aroused sufficiently to create a demand for the reform by the voters at the polls. It is true that only the men of the community were able to vote upon the question, but nevertheless it seems to be true that when a majority of the women of a community desire and demand the ballot, it will be given them by the votes of the men. This was the case in Colorado, where, as stated above, at the general election of 1893, the male electors of the

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State, by a handsome majority, voted in favor of the law extending full suffrage to women. The women of Colorado, by their action at the spring elections of 1894, have proved that they intend to make full use of the power extended to them.

While it seems to be true that women have not very generally availed themselves of the right to vote upon school matters, nevertheless the extension of this right has served to arouse the interest of many previously indifferent; and the stand taken by that vast organization, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, in favor of aggressive action for the granting of the electoral franchise to women, has within the last ten or a dozen years immensely augmented the ranks of the woman-suffrage agitators. Within a very few years the women of the Southern States have awakened to an active interest in the question; but the movement is too recent, and too much opposed to existing Southern views of woman's sphere, to have much political weight as yet, although permanent results have been secured in Kentucky by a recent law extending the property rights of married women, thus placing that State in line with most of the other States of the Union in this respect.

In our older States, the woman-suffrage movement has not hitherto enlisted the interest or sympathies of women who are prominent in fashionable society, a few individuals excepted. "Society" *en masse* has looked askance at the whole matter. But now, in New York, political equality has become fashionable, and ladies of wealth and position are enthusiastically working to obtain a recognition of woman's right to the ballot in the new constitution to be framed for the State by a convention now in session. Women are also eligible to membership in this convention, by a law passed in 1893. Another class of women who are interesting themselves in the cause of women's enfranchisement are the students and professors in some of our colleges. Wellesley, for instance, by an overwhelming majority, has recently put itself on record as in favor of the movement.

In brief, the sentiment is now so strong, and the supporters of the cause are so numerous, that politicians begin to recognize it as a factor not to be ignored. Every year petitions and bills pour in upon our State legislatures for the extension of some form of suffrage to women, and in many legislatures the matter has reached a stage requiring the appointment of a committee on woman suffrage as one of the regular standing committees. Although in many States the woman-suffrage bill annually passes the lower branch of the legisla-

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ture only to be killed in the upper, the majority of opponents decreases, and the favorable minority increases, year by year.

The political parties that have openly espoused woman's claim are chiefly those with socialistic platforms, such as the Greenback and Populist parties. The Prohibition party has always been steadily in favor of the movement, but the two great National parties, the Republicans and the Democrats, have been shy of the matter. The national Republican platform of 1876 contained the following plank: "The honest demands of women for additional rights, privileges, and immunities, should be treated with respectful consideration;" but since that time silence has been maintained. State parties have from time to time lent their aid for or against State legislation in the various forms of the controversy, but it has not yet become a national issue.

It is impossible to predict the probable result of the pending campaign in any given State. Still more impossible is it to predict, because one State extends full suffrage to women, that any other State is ready to do so. Public sentiment varies greatly in the various sections of the country. We have absolutely no means of judging of the sentiments of all the women of the country on the subject, because they have no means of giving a formal expression to their convictions in a way to carry equal weight with the votes of the men at the polls. Their views are indirectly reflected in the opinions and votes of the men, and this simply brings us back to the point that Wyoming and Colorado are the only States where full suffrage for women is an accomplished fact, and there alone has there been sufficient momentum to carry to full fruition the efforts of the agitators. But nevertheless there is now such an acceleration of momentum that favorable legislation is to be expected; and, such being the case, it behooves the leaders to study well the legal history of the movement, and to familiarize themselves with the constitutional limitations on the legislatures, so that the laws which shall extend to woman full political rights may be settled on such firm foundations that they cannot be overturned when the courts shall be obliged to pronounce upon their constitutionality.

MARY A. GREENE.

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THE THREATENING CONFLICT WITH ROMANISM.

An open letter published in a recent number of "The Catholic Citizen" appealed to the clergymen of Protestant churches to discourage The American Protective Association and similar secret societies organized more or less directly to oppose by agitation and by ballot Catholicism and Catholics. The writer of the letter reminded his readers that it is the purpose of the Christian ministry to promote peace rather than distrust among fellow-citizens and neighbors. This appeal met with much sympathy from lovers of fair play, to whom a warfare in the dark is repulsive; and a war of church against church is of all things most demoralizing.

The present situation, however, deserves more than cursory attention. There have been for some years organizations, especially active in the Western States, which are professedly anti-Catholic. All are strenuously secret even as to their membership, and their exceeding reticence makes it difficult to discover their relation to each other or to form any accurate idea of their strength. Such a society, the American Protective Association, has during the last year been exceedingly active in the West; and a similar one, the Canadian Protective Association, has developed considerable strength in Canada.

Founded at Clinton, Iowa, in 1887, the American Protective Association now claims to control 2,000,000 votes, and certainly has a considerable following; its lecturers are numerous; a number of newspapers are published in its interest; and, in a very large proportion of the cities and towns of the West, the Association has been a conspicuous and frequently a triumphant factor in the elections. Each of these instrumentalities—platform, press, and polling-place—has afforded its own opportunity for hostile collision, and serious personal injuries have been a not uncommon result. In many places its lecturers have been mobbed. In Chicago, newsboys on the streets have for some months found sale for an organ of the Association, and have sometimes been attacked and beaten by thugs from the nearest saloons,—strange champions of religion. Frequently the police assisted in or ignored these attacks, but public indignation in

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all cases was so furious that they seem of late to have protected the newsboys. Surprising strength has also been shown at the polls. At Peoria, for instance, to quote from the Chicago "Herald," a Democratic newspaper, "every candidate suspected of uncertainty on the anti-Catholic question was strongly opposed, and the entire Board has A.P.A. tendencies." And from Milwaukee and other towns, equally unlikely, in all reasonable expectation, to furnish fertile soil for such a movement, a similar story comes, and even in State conventions the hand of the organization is apparent. Finally, I assert, with certainty of prompt contradiction, but with equal certainty that I am right, that an overwhelming majority of the non-Catholic population in some measure sympathizes with this organization. Those who have unqualifiedly attacked them are men more distinguished for their upright lives than for knowledge of the "ways that are dark" of the ward politician. Some acquaintance with such matters might perhaps modify their views. From no standpoint can the matter be regarded as trivial.

It must first of all be understood that I am not a member of the American Protective Association, or of any other organization having a like object, nor am I in communication with any agitators to that end. On the contrary, I specifically refused an invitation to join such a society, although it might in indirect ways have been much to my advantage. Such organizations are objectionable for three reasons: (1) in the promise said to be exacted from each member—though this, for aught I know, may be an absolute falsehood as to each and all of these societies—to cast the ballot in accordance with instructions from headquarters; (2) because a secret political society is peculiarly liable to misuse and corrupt misdirection; and (3) because a religious society of the sort is apt to fall into the hands of extremists and bigots. But these are general assertions; and whether they are applicable to the societies mentioned, I do not know. Finally, I have no quarrel with the Catholic church in its religious work. I recognize that it has, like other churches, a constituency which no other could reach or control; I would not destroy it if I could; and I would instantly resent any attempt to curtail the religious freedom of Catholics as I would my own religious freedom. This personal information is given merely to show the standpoint from which this article is written.

But with this conviction of the Catholics' right to absolute freedom of religious belief; with no desire to distinguish socially be-

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tween Protestants and Catholics; without holding the Church responsible for the faults and follies of a single dissolute priest or nun,—I confess to a growing feeling that a religious war is impending in American politics, in which the Catholics will be opposed by men of all other sects and by men of no religion at all, and will be so overwhelmingly defeated that the ward politician will shun their friendship as he would shun disease or pestilence. Such a consummation is most devoutly to be avoided. No man ought to be kept out of office or put into it because of his religious beliefs. Moreover, while we are thus wasting time on a question not legitimate for political discussion, a thousand questions which are legitimate, and which need discussion, are pressed to one side.

Yet while this struggle is, as I believe, steadily coming nearer, I hope that it is not inevitable, and that it may be averted. The Catholic Church is a great organization, guided by men of ability who are devoted to its success. If they can be persuaded of the mistakes of the past, and earnestly seek to avoid them, this conflict may be averted, and the days and years to come shall not be—as otherwise I am forced to believe they must be—full of bitter conflict, damaging both to American civilization and to Catholicism.

For the habit slowly settling on many American voters, of treating the Catholicism of a candidate as a strong reason for voting against him, many and varied reasons are given. Some of these I propose to state, with such comments as may show upon what foundation they rest. Nor is it pertinent to my present purpose whether these be good or bad reasons; whether they rest on fact or idle rumor; whether the fact—if it be present—is sufficient to support the conclusion: I point out only that certain allegations are made, that they are by many people believed, and that from this belief arises prejudice and hostility.

First, it is said *that the Catholic Church is un-American, not in sympathy with our institutions, and in fact struggling constantly to weaken them.*

The Church of Rome goes back to a time when many a thing was approved which would not now be tolerated. Much of its ceremonial, of its ritual, its text-books, and its music dates from barbaric times. Its head once claimed paramount authority over all temporal rulers, and has never since abjured that claim, which, however beneficent in previous times, as undoubtedly it often was when the Church alone dared protect the weak against the strong, cannot now

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be allowed. It is perhaps natural, whether it be just or not, that men should confound this doctrine with old enormities not now perpetrated or approved. Again, its leaders, being unmarried men, under the orders of a foreign superior, are less bound by natural ties—of relationship, of training, of early association—than other men are. That circumstances such as these do tend to weaken the hold of the national spirit seems beyond question. But it may be hoped that the Church may be content with what the people of this country by their constitutions, the struggles of the past, and the determination of the present, have allotted as the fit province of religious bodies,—a province absolutely distinct and apart from politics. If she does, she will be protected in absolute freedom. But some priests deserve the rebuke recently administered by a Catholic correspondent, who indignantly attacks "this foreign spirit which in former years existed in a marked degree among the clergy"; and further says: "It is necessary, in America, that the church should be American, otherwise our countrymen could not find peace in her fold." Nor must it be forgotten that certain priests have within a few years been reprimanded by their superiors for no offence that an outsider can perceive, save a determination to use their own judgment on social and political questions not in any way connected with religion.

Second, it is declared *that the Catholic Church is the persistent enemy of the American public-school system.*

Certain things, I take it, are held by the vast majority of Americans to be so settled by our hundred years of history that they are now beyond argument or protest. Thus, "The state must in no manner recognize or assist any church, and on the other hand it must not in any degree put forth its power to harm or discourage any. Not one penny of state moneys shall, by any means, directly or indirectly, find its way into church coffers." The Catholic Church ought in sheer self-defence to recognize the hostility with which a vast majority of American citizens regard any violation of this law, written and unwritten,—a hostility so determined and bitter that it will override all other considerations. But many things have shown the restless determination of the Catholic Church to supplant public and absolutely non-sectarian schools by parochial schools controlled by church authority, yet supported by state money.

Now as to those facts which have made the American people strongly suspect that the Catholic Church aims by fair means or foul to destroy the public-school system. 1. It should be remembered

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that prelates of this church have frequently declared their opinion publicly, and have denounced the public schools as "godless." 2. Public schools are not found in those countries generally controlled by Catholics. 3. The history of the past few years has clearly indicated what the church desires. The attack upon the compulsory education law of Illinois and Wisconsin some years since was professedly aimed against certain features of the law capable of abuse and easily amended, yet the demand made was for complete destruction of the law. Nor will the friends of education soon forget that in the States of Illinois and Wisconsin there is no legal way by which children can be prevented from neglecting their only means of education, the only means of avoiding that ignorance and those vicious habits which threaten civic prosperity; and that this unfortunate state of things is due to a combination of two religious organizations with cowardly and dishonest politicians. The so-called Faribault experiment comes to mind, though as yet its results and animus are not so clear. Yet it is a disappointment to those who have hoped much from the intellectual breadth of Archbishop Ireland, that he did not see the impropriety of the appointment of the members of any religious order, wearing its garb, bound to it by a life-long vow, and still subject to the orders of its officers, to any institution controlled by the state. For if these women were true to their ordination vows,—and I do not imagine that any one doubts it,—their best efforts were due to their church; and they were in effect not teachers, but propagandists of the Catholic faith, and the state must in all these matters be utterly impartial. The recent attempts to secure state aid for parochial schools—in Maryland by circulars sent to members of the Baltimore City Council and to the members of the State legislature, and in New York by the so-called Spelissy Bill—are less equivocal. True, they have been promptly disclaimed by church dignitaries, and there seems no reason for fearing any serious movement in this direction at present. But, while the situation is on the whole reassuring, there are some features which are not so pleasing. Many Catholic papers have asserted the essential justice of the plan, and the "Freeman's Journal," of New York, not approving of the present movement, advocates another plan, essentially the same in results. Nor do those church dignitaries who have ruined this movement by their lack of support give much encouragement upon the general question, for, disowning any active support, they are careful not to say anything in condemnation of the principle. Mgr. Farley, for instance,

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contents himself with saying that the officers of the diocese have not approved the bill, and that it is therefore irregular. The exceeding care with which Mgr. Satolli just at this time reiterates his belief in parochial schools has been much quoted, and is perhaps not wholly without significance. It is encouraging, indeed, to note the attitude of prominent Catholic laymen on this subject, but it is impossible to forget a recent statement in the Philadelphia "Catholic Standard":

"No one has any right to outline a course of policy for the church in this country except the hierarchy, our divinely appointed rulers. Theirs is the prerogative of determining as well the nature of the Catholic claims, as the opportune time for pursuing them."

Third, it is said *that in political matters the Catholic Church is an organized machine, determined by fair means or foul to secure offices for its own men against all others.*

That, as to individuals, there is much truth in this, I fear no candid man having any information can doubt. How far the general organization is fairly responsible, and how far reform is possible, are quite different questions. The evidence of the fact falls into various classes. As to results, it is a matter of common knowledge that in the cities where the Catholics have any considerable strength their percentage of office-holding is enormous.

A striking illustration of this fact has recently been presented in the protest, alleged to have been made to President Cleveland, against the appointment of Mr. Russell as collector of the port of Chicago, and of Mr. Lawler as United States marshal, a protest thus voiced by one of those who made it:

"It is not to be understood that any objection is being made by Democrats in Chicago to the appointment of any man solely because he is a Catholic. But there is very strong objection, and it is growing among Democrats, to the appointment of only Catholics to the Federal offices in Chicago. The same objection would be made if the President should select all Baptists, or Presbyterians, or Methodists."

The same protest further explained that the Catholics of Chicago already have the mayor, the chief of police, the chief of the fire department, the postmaster, the State's attorney, the clerks of the circuit, superior, and probate courts (and the clerk of the criminal court might have been added, leaving but one State court of record, not appellate, whose clerk is not a Catholic), a number of the judges, 45 of the 68 aldermen, 90 per cent of the police force, 80 per cent of the members of the fire department, and 67 per cent of the school-

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teachers. When it is recalled that Catholics are very far from a majority of the voting population, it can hardly be doubted that their votes are cast largely as a unit, and that they have already made the religious question a controlling one in their voting. I might speak of methods and of the dark history of municipal misgovernment wherein Catholics have taken too prominent a part. But meaning, as I do, to point out the necessity and the means of avoiding trouble,—not to raise it,—I gladly pass such topics.

Fourth, it must be confessed that *the preceding arguments are largely supported by a widely diffused prejudice against Catholics in general* among many who are habitually indifferent to all religious matters. Very frequently it is based on no better reason than a personal acquaintance with one or two Catholics whose lives are not a credit to their church; but this is not all. Some facts may be cited as lending strength to this feeling. The Catholic Church has been too lenient with rascality and with powerful rascals. True, it has much company from Protestant denominations; and the readiness to accept help from a rascal, though you must wink at his knavery, has tempted many: yet this church has sinned above all others in this respect. That man who has for many years been the chief of gamblers of Chicago, and perfectly well known to be a "fence" for thieves, has during all that time been a Catholic, and an enormous proportion of his ill-gotten gains has flowed into the coffers of the church.

Among those occupations which public opinion holds in disfavor, the proportion of Catholics is frightfully large; a fact partly accounted for and made inevitable by the next fact, that the work of the church lies largely among a poor, illiterate, and morally degraded class, and therefore that church naturally shares in the odium of their faults,—a most natural result, if not a just one.

Fifth, *the persistent appeals of Catholics for the giving of money to aid in their church work*, addressed to people outside their communion as well as to those within, are a fruitful source of irritation. The office buildings of cities are constantly visited by Sisters of various Orders, who turn over the results of their solicitations to their superiors. I have the highest respect for the courage and self-sacrifice with which these ladies face what must be an unwelcome task, since they must often be met with discourtesy; yet it is difficult to regard as fair the dilemma in which a man, willing to regard a religious system with all toleration, yet sincerely differing from it, must choose between meeting with a disconcerting rebuff a woman who is un-

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doubtedly doing a self-sacrificing and in some respects useful work, and of giving his money to the support of an institution of which he cannot approve. This may seem trivial, but I believe that in effect it is not so.

Nor are these moneys applied only to temporary purposes. On the contrary, the Catholic church is vastly increasing its wealth by means of the contributions of Protestants, sometimes unwilling, sometimes practically extorted by threats of business boycotts. Be it remembered that wealth is power,—and every dollar given to the Catholic church helps in its intrenchment. It is significant that by the census of 1870—no later figures are at this writing available—the Catholic church, having 5.68 per cent of all religious organizations, 6.33 per cent of all edifices, and 9.18 per cent of all sittings, had 17.2 per cent of all church property. The census of 1890 on this subject is not yet complete, but fragmentary and less reliable figures indicate a still larger percentage of property in the hands of Catholicism. I grant that certain other denominations also show a high percentage of wealth. But if Catholics give more assiduously than those of other denominations, they on the other hand have a much larger representation of the poorer classes. For this disproportionate wealth the gifts of Protestants are largely responsible. In a small inland city, some years ago, a sum of several thousand dollars was left, by a Protestant, to found a hospital. As it was alone too small for the purpose, the sum was handed over to a Catholic Sisterhood, who raised the necessary additional amount. One of the largest hospitals of Chicago, founded and sustained by citizens of all creeds for charity's sake, in like manner fell into the hands of Catholicism. That these funds are rightfully applied may be conceded: that they assist in strengthening the one denomination is likewise true.

In this connection it is worth while to notice that we are rapidly drifting toward that condition of ecclesiastical monopoly of financial resources which forced in England the famous statutes of mortmain —forbidding the gathering of property in the "*mort main*"—the "dead hand"—of the church, which in many Catholic countries has compelled the confiscation of church property. We may ere long be forced to consider whether one of these means of relief and defence shall be adopted, or whether, on the other hand, safety is to be found in taxation of church property, applicable to all denominations, but peculiarly effective against this, the wealthiest of them all.

Sixth, *the operations of the Land League are a constant source of distrust and of suspicion.*

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Irishmen constitute the most conspicuous section of the Catholic Church in this country. They have left their own land and accepted the protection of this country, yet use it as a vantage-ground from which to attack Great Britain, a country with which we are at peace. Thus have our institutions been brought under reproach and misconstruction abroad. The methods of the Land League, with accusation and counter-accusation so frightful that murder is but a peccadillo beside them, have co-operated to throw into bad odor the society and all connected with it; for he who betrays his associate in an enterprise into a life-long imprisonment, that the traitor may appropriate the money intended for the victim's maintenance, is infinitely worse than a murderer,—and these charges, though not proven, have been often made.

The Catholic Church in America is to-day under suspicion, aroused by its history. If it continues to attack the public schools, men will universally conclude, as some have frankly declared, that the Catholic Church is afraid of general intelligence, and therefore fears common schools. If it continues to provoke hostility by any of those means which have been suggested, then is the controversy inevitable, which in the words of "The Churchman" (a Protestant Episcopal organ) "would be a great public misfortune, for it is certain that it would revive those old hatreds which are far more at variance with Christ's religion than are errors of intellect." And sad will be the day for civilization, for religion, for the Catholic Church, when this thing comes to pass. No doubt there is fault on the side of the opposition,—which I do not call Protestant, because those classes of the community which cannot be classed as Protestant are as much interested as are the Protestants of the least tolerant type.

The gentlemen who put forth the letter in "The Catholic Citizen," to which I have above referred, are no doubt sincerely grieved at the attack made upon their beloved church. I now appeal to them to be as open-minded as they ask others to be. Consider whether in truth there be not something of fault on the Catholic side of this controversy, as they ask others to recognize that their prejudices against Catholicism have tinged their conclusions, as it may be with the writer. If they can control the intolerant within their own communion, they can reckon on support from many without it who on points of doctrine have little in common with them. And in joint action against extremists lies the only possibility of peace.

E. M. WINSTON.

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WHY CHURCH PROPERTY SHOULD NOT BE TAXED.

THE question of taxing church property has never been a question of any public concern, except when an appreciative and generous people rebuff the few agitators in favor of church taxation, by giving them no encouragement, no attention, and sincere condemnation. It will never become a question of any importance until the majority of citizens have deserted religion utterly, and have substituted education and culture for churches and prayers.

The attempts which General Grant and General Garfield made to interest the public in the taxation of church property fell so flat that no other statesman or politician has mentioned the subject since, and the cranks of politics and religion now have it solely to themselves. Notoriety may be gained by discussing its possibilities and its figures: nothing more. Christians of all varieties feel that exemption of church property from taxation is the most natural tribute which the state can pay to the church for the good work done by churchmen in the direct interest of good, clean, stable government. If opposition is to arise, then it can come with good grace only from atheists and materialists, who deny the usefulness of all religion. Strangely enough these people rarely object to the exemption of church property, although their principles would justify their opposition. It is only the notoriety-hunter, as a rule, the supposed Christian who is willing to have his own faith belittled, if the faith of his enemy can be subjected to the same humiliation, that regularly raises the question of taxing church property. And, as a rule also, it will be found that his object is less the equalizing of taxation, less the desire for justice, than a vicious eagerness to subject the Roman Catholic Church to annoyance and injury.

Church property in this country is untaxed because an overwhelming and most creditable popular sentiment insists upon the exemption. There is hardly a sound Christian in the land that would not vote against any proposition to impose taxes, for any reason, on church properties. The people see and feel, even when they cannot state the arguments in its favor or answer the sophisms of opponents, the

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soundness of the position taken by legislators in this matter. This strong public sentiment has its basis in reasons as profound and proper as the arguments of reverend promoters of church taxation are improper, shallow, and unsound. Unless the taxation of church property were made a condition of legislative war between the Catholics and the non-Catholics of this country, no agitator could get a Coxey guard in numbers and respectability to follow him in a crusade for taxation.

The people see that exemptions from taxation are not only numerous, but also fit and reasonable in many cases. The laws of New York State exempt the property of schools, academies, colleges, and the furniture of the same, poor-houses, reformatories, homes of industry, and the personal property of clergymen to a certain amount. In New York city the exemptions from taxation include St. Luke's Hospital, the Roosevelt and Presbyterian Hospitals, the Consumptive Home, Home for Incurables, all libraries, all colleges, the National Academy of Design, Cooper Institute, the Children's Aid Society, and scores of other charities.

Every citizen recognizes the decency of exempting these properties from taxation; for a greater reason the property of the churches should enjoy the same privilege.

The people see the truth of Judge Cooley's statement that, "the protection of the government being the consideration for which taxes are demanded, all parties who receive or are entitled to that protection may be called upon to render the equivalent." They accept that statement. The citizen and resident, in return for protection, give their proper tax to the government, and sometimes render it personal service. They have been personally benefited in a hundred ways by the orderly civil society which a good government has secured for them: they have made money, enjoyed all the relations of social life in perfect liberty, and are in debt to the government even when they have paid their taxes. But the churches also have made their return for the protection accorded them. They have paid no taxes, but they have labored night and day to secure to the state the best sort of citizens. They have preached at all hours and seasons the duty of loyalty to the state, and have spent more hours than the state could pay for in looking after the poor and helpless, in preventing sin and disorder, in keeping pure and wholesome the very elements which go to make a decent state. If the ordinary citizen is still in debt to his government when he has paid his taxes, the state is still in debt to

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the churches when the tax on church property has been remitted. The people feel that, even when certain clergymen deny it.

The people see that church property is really, in the point of use, their property, and that it would be as sensible to tax the New York City Hall and Central Park as to tax the churches, the schools, and the asylums. The churches are as free to the public as the city buildings; they have been built for the use of the people, with the people's money; and they are still supported by voluntary offerings. They are kept open to suit the necessity and convenience of the public, and all their services are for the multitude. It may be said in fact that the churches are more truly the property of the people in point of use than even the city offices, for in the churches they are always welcome, and it is not for the comfort and happiness of the clergy that these buildings are erected, but solely for the people, after the first intention of honoring God. History shows that the church property for eighteen hundred years has always remained the people's property, whether it remained in the hands of the church corporation, as in Austria, or was confiscated by the state to fill its coffers, as in England, France, Italy, Mexico, and other countries. To tax property so truly the property of the people is simply an absurdity of the same nature as taxing the public schools because they enjoy the protection of the Federal government.

The people see, even where some clerical leaders cannot, that the work of the churches is more truly beneficial to the state, more directly so, than the work of the state-supported public schools: for these teach only material knowledge, and develop only the intellectual side of a man, whereas the churches concern themselves with his moral and spiritual nature, and try to make him and keep him, not merely an intelligent citizen, but clean, dutiful, obedient, law-abiding, and spiritual. And whereas the work of the schools is an influence that directly affects only five or ten years of a citizen's life, the work of the churches begins with birth and ends only with death, pursuing the man through every phase of his earthly career, encouraging him in virtue, strengthening him in temptation, aiding him in danger, supporting him in trouble, teaching and advising him in doubt, pointing out his responsibilities, reproaching him—even punishing him—for sin and dereliction. The Roman Catholic Church is doing this work for 12,000,000 Americans, as more than one friendly Balaam has loudly testified. Not a Protestant sect of importance but will claim as much for its own fold, and will be believed by the peo-

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ple of the fold. This work directly benefits the state, and the state has never been asked to pay one cent for a moiety of the work by which it has been directly benefited. When, therefore, at the wish of the people, it remits a certain portion of the taxes on church property,—for it does not remit all,—the sensible people of the land are satisfied that some proper acknowledgment has been made for inestimable service; they approve of it, and they recognize the fact that the state is still in debt, and must always be in debt, to the church for such service.

Apart from this view of the matter, which may be called economical and is concerned with the mere money and moral value of the church societies to the state, the people have another reason—a very just and very beautiful one—for remitting taxes on church property, even though some of their clerical leaders have overlooked it. The people acknowledge the existence, the providence, the goodness of God. In a spirit of reverence they decline to settle taxation, light or heavy, on the temples raised in His honor, from Whom they have received all good things, and in Whose loving and merciful hands lie all their destinies. Not only do the professed and practising Christians entertain this feeling, but that ever-increasing multitude in this country, the indifferents in religious matters, sprung from Christian parents, bound by family ties to Christians,—even these decline to be coaxed or worried into any plot for the taxation of property which is held for the honor of God and the good of the people and their government. The sentiment of reverence is to their credit, and it contrasts very strangely with the contrary sentiment held by clergymen supposedly Christian and intelligent, who rank the churches, in point of influence, power, dignity, and usefulness, with grammar-schools, art-museums, and factories.

When the advocate of taxing church property is pushed to the last extremity, as he invariably is if a Christian, he justifies himself with the everlasting argument of the union of church and state. An article in the May number of THE FORUM quotes President Garfield as follows:

> "The divorce between church and state ought to be absolute. It ought to be so absolute that no church property anywhere, in any state, or in the nation, should be exempt from equal taxation: for if you exempt the property of any church organization, to that extent you impose a tax upon the whole community."

The last statement is true of every exemption, and applies with full

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force to the individuals freed from taxation for public services, as well as to the churches: but it does not prove that there ought not to be any exemptions, or that exemptions are an injustice to the community, or that any union of church and state exists because of exemptions. The state has a right to exempt; and in the case of the churches the remission of taxes is no injustice to the citizen, since the state, from a money point of view, is still the church's debtor.

The union of church and state is a bugbear in America, for the simple reason that not one in a thousand knows its meaning. When the state formally names a church the church of the community ruled by the state, builds and supports its churches, schools, and charities, pays salaries to the clergy, treats with the church authorities as to duties and privileges, and has a voice in the appointment of church officials, then you have a union of church and state. Such a union exists under very few governments to-day, and where it does, as a rule, the results are often unsatisfactory to the churches. To say that the remission of taxation to the churches is encouraging a future union of church and state in this country is more than extravagant. Not even the payment of sums of money to charities which are doing the work which would otherwise be neglected or would fall into the hands of government officials, can be called a tendency to the unification of church and state in the European sense. The state has a right to recognize the work of private individuals in behalf of its citizens, and it can reward the workers as it pleases by exemption from taxation, by money gifts, by direct support, or by the conferring of honors. No one denies it this right in the support and encouragement of science: why, then, should the right be denied in the case of charitable work in behalf of citizens? The moment any real union of church and state is attempted in this country, the people will be able to recognize it. Federal compact with church authorities, salaries to the clergy, complete support of churches and charities, and all the other features of such a union, cannot be done in the dark or be accomplished piecemeal. In the mean time there must be always in existence at the very least such a union of action between church and state as exists in this country. Both church and state are concerned with the one individual, the citizen. They cannot be separate if they would. It is unavoidable that the church, if it be of any use whatever, shall help the state: is there any solid reason why the state should not help the church, at least in the minor matter of making and keeping the citizen a moral and loyal creature?

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A union of activities in behalf of the man must exist between the church and the state, whether they will or not: the European union is another affair, and against it the American Constitution has provided in the First Amendment.

Really the question of the taxation of church property has no point, no interest, unless its discussion be aimed at the Roman Catholic Church in this country. The unvarying method of all clerical advocates of taxation is to close with a special plea for the immediate and heavy taxation of the church property of the Catholic body. This circumstance raises a suspicion of the sincerity of these advocates. The article in the May FORUM already cited is from the pen of one of these gentlemen, the Rev. Madison C. Peters, the most distinguished baiter of Catholics since the days of the Rev. Justin Fulton. His arguments in general have been answered in the first part of this essay: his particular plea for the taxation of Catholic church property remains to be examined. He is in favor of the taxation of all church property, but he finds that "there are many reasons why Roman Catholic church property should especially be taxed."

A litany of grosser errors than the "many reasons" it would be hard to find, and the task of following him through the labyrinth which he has built up is most unpleasant. His reasons for the special taxing of Catholic church property are:

1. The church property is held, not by the people, but by individual ecclesiastics.
2. It is the personal property of churchmen, under personal control.
3. Only priests and bishops can hold church property.
4. In this respect one-man power prevails over the law of the state.
5. The bishops are the owners in fee simple of nearly all church property.
6. They can do with it as with private property, leave it to relatives, etc.

As illustrations of these assertions he gives the following:

1. Archbishop Corrigan owns Calvary cemetery.
2. He never permits Catholics to bury elsewhere, and all the receipts are his.
3. It is said that he owns $50,000,000 of church property.
4. Many transfers of church property have been made from the trustees to M. A. Corrigan: not to the Archbishop, but to the citizen, Corrigan.
4. The Pope's Nuncio, Archbishop Bedini, came to America in 1855 to wrest the church property from the trustees and place it in the hands of the bishops.

It is unfortunate for the Rev. Mr. Peters's reputation as a careful writer, a conscientious Christian with a regard for the good name of every man, and a clergyman eager to preach the truth though the

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heavens should fall, that each statement and each illustration numbered above is erroneous. The facts in the case are these:

1. The churches of New York State, and all the property belonging to each church or parish, are owned by corporations formed according to the special law of the State: said corporations always consisting each of five trustees, viz., the bishop of the diocese, the vicar-general, the parish priest, and two laymen of the particular parish. No others hold parish property. The religious orders, both men and women, hold their property in the same fashion, except that the trustees are taken solely from their own members.

2. There is no church property held by the bishops or priests as personal property in this or any other State. The Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, in its decrees on the subject of church property, urges the bishops to place all church property under the protection of legal incorporation where it can be done safely, as in the State of New York: where such incorporation cannot be made, it requests the bishop to have himself made a corporation sole, and thus to hold the church property as any other corporation would; and where this cannot be done it permits him to hold the property in fee simple. There are few States, if any, where the laws are so adverse that church property has to be held by the bishop in fee simple; but when the instances happen, the Council provides against trouble by ordering the bishop to make a will within three months after his consecration, by which all church property is left to his successor; and he is also compelled to keep a list of church properties and a list of his personal properties, copies of which are placed with his metropolitan, in order that no confusion may follow his death.

3. That bishops and priests alone can hold church property is evidently untrue from the laws of this State, which provide for lay trustees, from the fact that the lay religious orders hold their own property, and from the special instances—two out of a thousand—of the New York Cathedral and Calvary Cemetery, which are owned by ten trustees, among whom Archbishop Corrigan is the only churchman. The deeds of ownership are on record.

4. There is no evidence that the power of the Archbishop, or of any bishop, prevails over the law of the State in this or any other instance.

5. There is no evidence that all the bishops are owners in fee simple of the church property. The majority are simply members of the church corporation, as in this State, or corporations sole, as in Maryland: and where they are forced to hold it in fee simple, they

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and their brother bishops would much prefer to hold it under such laws as prevail in this State. In this diocese I know of only two instances where a bishop holds church property in his own name—a strip of disused cemetery in Melrose, held temporarily by Archbishop Corrigan on account of legal difficulties in the way of transfer, and a piece of land in the Bahamas, held by the same prelate because British law requires it.

6. Neither by the law of the State nor by the law of the Baltimore Council can a bishop dispose of church property at his pleasure. As a trustee or a corporation sole he is bound by the usual restrictions. Where permitted to hold church property in his own name, the statutes of the Council, the laws of his own province, not to mention his feelings of honor, duty, and religion, and the facts in each case, are the safeguard.

With regard to the particular instances so felicitously provided by Mr. Peters:

1. Archbishop Corrigan does not own Calvary Cemetery: he is one among ten trustees.

2. Catholics can bury where they please within the restrictions laid down by the Church. As a matter of fact Catholics bury in all the Catholic cemeteries of the neighborhood, and not a few are taken to the cemeteries attached to the churches where they worshipped before coming to the city to live. The Archbishop has nothing to do with the revenue from tombstones, or from any other source. It is received by the proper officers of the corporation.

3. The Archbishop of New York owns no church property, with the exceptions named above. He is not the holder of $50,000,000 of real estate, which might have been guessed from a casual examination of Mr. Peters's own figures. On page 373 he states that the total value of our church property in the United States is $118,342,366. It is hardly possible that the Archbishop should own almost one-half of it. The total value of church property in this diocese of New York, excluding the property of the religious orders, is estimated at $17,675,000, and it is heavily in debt.

4. There is not a single piece of church property in the diocese deeded from its trustees to M. A. Corrigan; nor to M. A. Corrigan, Archbishop; nor to M. A. Corrigan, Trustee; nor is there any piece of real estate in the name of M. A. Corrigan. Therefore there are no parcels of church property covering whole squares of land, in Archbishop Corrigan's name.

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5. The Pope's nuncio, Archbishop Bedini, did not come to America in 1855, and he did not come to wrest church property from the trustees. He came in 1853, and did very little while here except, figuratively, dodge the bullets of Mr. Peters's clerical ancestors. He left hastily the next year, astonished at the murders and burnings done in the name of religion.

Thus the argument in favor of specially taxing the church property of Catholics comes to an inglorious end. The reasons produced by Mr. Peters are not true, and the thesis depending upon them is much worse off than the house built upon the sand, after the wind and the rain got through with it. He was not content with reasons for the general taxation of all church property; he had to find reasons for loading Catholic churches with taxation though all others escaped. Surely, if exceptions were to prevail in this matter, few could offer stronger reasons than the churches, schools, and charities of the Catholic church. They are unquestionably the property of the people, the common people, who built them and now support them: they are open to all, for worship, aid, recreation, and training. The churches belong as truly to the people, in the point of use, as does the public park: the Catholic schools in New York, for instance, educate 30,000 children at a cost of $250,000, saving the city $750,000, besides giving the city Christian citizens; the care of the sick, the orphan, the aged, provided by the Sisterhoods, is the best and kindest in the world.

If taxation of church property ever becomes a fact in this country, it will be for reasons very different from those offered by clergymen of Mr. Peters's character. Such a taxation is utterly opposed to American principles, contrary to the custom of nations, very distasteful to people that believe in God and in Christ. It can be established in this country only when religion has lost its truth and charm for the vast majority of the people. Even then the privilege of exemption will be simply transferred from the churches to the art-museums, the ethical-culture temples, and perhaps the gymnasiums and dancing-academies. The State will always have the right of exemption, and will ever take delight in its exercise.

JOHN M. FARLEY.

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SCHOLARSHIPS, FELLOWSHIPS, AND THE TRAINING OF PROFESSORS.

FROM the general considerations of the two preceding articles, I now pass to special topics, the first of which is University Fellowships and Scholarships. We are now realizing, again, that children have certain sacred and inalienable rights: such as the right to be well born of virtuous and healthful parents; the right to linger in the Eden of instinct and unconsciousness; to have their serious questions honestly answered; to have occupation enough to save them from *ennui;* to have a solid basis of right and early habituation; and to have suitable companionship both of adults and of other children. In these respects we do not do our duty to our children, and we shirk the full parental function by too little supervision and co-operation with nurses, tutors, and teachers. The natural right of the young to leisure interferes with only the grosser forms of selfishness which would profit from children's work, and against which laws of compulsory school attendance are forever in conflict. We cannot too often repeat that the word "school" means "leisure." The fascinating history of man's ideals of an earthly paradise, which have always lain so close and warm about the heart, shows that all these parks, gardens, eldorados, golden ages, utopias, millennia, arcadias, isles of the blest, and lands flowing with milk and honey, have, as the heart of their charm, as the gem in their every lotus, that same leisure to which childhood should be forever sacred. Leisure has always been the condition of every kind of spontaneity—growth from within, inspiration; when apart, in sacred places, men have come face to face with the genius of their own personality, or first deeply realized that the oracle in their own hearts is true, the universe sane, and nature's ways benign. This is education, in its primal sense, rather than instruction, for it is from within outward; its watchword is the *natura naturans*—the about to become—which the student of childhood watches for long and patiently with Horus's only song of "Hush, all hush." This is the miracle of growth, and by this gate the great impulses and ideas which elevate the race enter.

A recent writer bases here an argument for leisured classes in

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every state, who neither toil nor spin, but whose spontaneities should point out the way of progress while they teach how to occupy hours of rest or vacancy. Hence, too, the old English proverb, that the ideals of students are the best material for prophecy. In our land of haste, tension, and overpressure, where the tendency is so strong to drive out leisure from its inner sanctuary, the school—where even the kindergarten, where children ought to vegetate, so tends to become a factory of Froebelian furbelows—we are prone to forget that every irruption into this childish Eden of leisure must have a specific and urgent reason, for leisure develops character and spontaneity, which overwork always represses.

Socrates was scandalized that the Sophists took pay for teaching, but from the installation of the Athenian Porch and Grove, the ancient universities of Alexandria and Constantinople, down to the Medicean patronage of letters, academies, schools, and universities, it would be hard to say what would have become of learning had it not had the benefit of endowment, which it has never since been without. The laws of supply and demand never apply in the field of morals or intellect, but the need is inversely as the demand. The *status pupillaris* not only always has been, but ought to be, a state of dependence, and it is necessary for docility that it not only be, but be felt to be, such. We are proud that our lower schools are free; the Chinese are proud to pay—as all Chinese must—for lower grades of education, while the state supports the higher grades. The chief feature of the mediæval universities was the exceptional privileges, immunities, and franchises which state and church vied with each other in conferring. These largely made their prosperity. Students and teachers paid no taxes or tolls, in days and lands where these were oppressive; they performed no military duty, when wars were rife; they had their own courts, the jurisdiction of which was almost paternal. The title of the provost was "the guardian of privileges;" his duties were to see that even special assessments and town dues were not imposed upon students, who, as the statutes of Padua said, must be considered as citizens in what concerns the advantages, but not in what concerns the burdens, of citizens. Many of the struggles between town and gown were to preserve these privileges. Gradually to leisure has been added protection, opportunity, instruction, and incentive.

The largest and most interesting of the British Parliamentary Reports is that of Lord Brougham's commission, which was occupied continuously from 1818 to 1837 in investigating the conditions of

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foundations. In their 38 folio volumes, 28,880 of these funds are described, yielding then £1,200,000, and now a trifle over twice that sum. This report, which has been the basis of all subsequent legislation, and by which the policy of publicity was substituted for periodic official investigation, shows why funds for higher education have been most beneficent and held truest to the founder's ideal. Only with the publication of Baumgart's book in 1885 was it possible to study the various stipends, etc., of all the German universities. I have tabulated all those at Leipzig and Berlin. At Leipzig the oldest was established in 1325, and nearly as many new ones were created between 1880 and 1885 as in any entire decade before. Of all the Leipzig founders, 182 gave precedence to students from their own locality; 173 to those from their own family; 83 prefer students fitted at a particular school. Early founders preferred theology; a few decades ago, philology; and now science is preferred. In all, Leipzig has nearly 400 funds, ranging from $37 to $20,000 each, which may be distributed among 729 beneficiaries. Many of these funds have their own statutes, and I read these books with growing awe. These donors of small sums were impressed with the immortality of human society, and saw that higher education was its best safeguard, and that the poorest should have equal rights with the richest in the republicanism of culture: they loved and revered youth. Under the influence of Turgot's great treatise and revolutionary tendencies, such funds were swept away in France, and now the State annually appropriates generous sums for fellowships and scholarships, as if it envied and would take to its own paternal function the student's gratitude. Swift, in his sketch of the Struldbrugs, who acted like others till thirty, then grew dejected, forgetful, and at eighty, though immortals, had to be regarded as dead in law, attempted to ridicule all trust funds. Mr. Lowe's law, 1860, introduced the principle of *cy près*, or parliamentary revision according to the nearest practicable purpose, after a period of inviolability. But the careful official chronicler of the German universities has sacredly maintained the individuality of each fund, so that they have never, as has been done in some American institutions, been diverted or fused for greater efficacy to the effacement of even the personality of the more ancient donors. Many of these funds are given by lodges, churches, corporations, towns, chambers of commerce, as well as individuals. Leipzig has 132 royal and 156 private "free-table" funds; others are for rooms, wood, free beds, hospital care, etc. At the

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King's golden wedding, in 1873, a single fund of $32,000 was set apart, while, by bequest, Marbourg has lately received a large fund for research by students in medical subjects.

From the interesting Report of 1852 it appeared that of all the 542 fellowships then existing at Oxford, only 20 were open to general competition. Of these, 10, opened since 1829, were at Baliol College, and to this cause its pre-eminence was ascribed. In the other Oxford colleges the average tenure of fellowships was ten years; celibacy was still enforced; residence, which originally involved severe monastic rules, had been sweetened by many luxuries; many donors, following William of Wykeham, so early famous for bounty to Fellows of his kin, had attached conditions to their gifts which barely escaped the law against perpetual entails; many funds were treated almost as the private property of the heads of houses; the older dons despised what they dubbed "mere cleverness"; young men, seeing provision for life made at the outset, were almost bribed into incapacity; bright Fellows pushed out to other careers, and dull ones remained; and thus all that was private and selfish was developed to the utmost, and all that was public and ideal seemed lost. The reforms, which since then have been gradual but radical, have brought great changes. All the Oxford colleges now have fellowships, 367 in all, ranging in number from Wadham with 8, to All Souls with 50, and with an upper and lower limit fixed for each Fellow. Probably nowhere in the world can be found groups of more scholarly or delightful young men than these coteries of the best youth in England, for which the whole educational system has been sifted, and who are to be future leaders. Their scholarly activity and productivity is now increasing, and these 21 little groups are academic ideals of leisure and culture nowhere paralleled. Nearly the same may be said of the 17 colleges of Cambridge, England, with their 334 fellowships. Besides these, Oxford has 480 scholarships and about 126 exhibitions, and Cambridge 518 scholarships. More recently the universities have begun to rival the colleges. Cambridge has 48, and Oxford 41 fellowships and scholarships. Glasgow has 310 fellowships, scholarships, bursaries, etc.; Edinburgh, 176; Durham, 32; Dublin, 33; St. Andrew's, 116; Victoria, 12; Bristol, 8; Mason, 8; University College, 34; and Aberdeen, 348. In preparatory schools, in England, we find these aids in abundance.

In this country, in the older colleges, and even the larger fitting-schools of the East, such funds abound. Our special concern

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here, however, is only with those devoted to post-graduates, and I subjoin what I believe is a complete list of those now available.

The following have one graduate scholarship or fellowship each, limited to their own graduates:—

Brown University.—$500; descendant of a Union veteran preferred.

Hampden-Sidney College.—$300; must teach and proceed to the A. M. degree.

University of Michigan.—$500; not more than two years from B. A.

University of Minnesota.—$250.

Syracuse University.—$500; Painting; limited to graduates of the preceding year; must study and paint in some art centre.

Washington and Lee University.—$490; awarded for two years; must teach.

The following have from two to ten each:—

Amherst College.—R. B. King Fund, income of $30,000; must be a graduate of Amherst; the first three years to be spent abroad; the next four years must give not more than thirty lectures per annum, on a subject of his own choice, to be finally published; must reside at Amherst at least one college term, and have no other vocation. Dwight Fund, $250; History and Social Science; graduate only. Pope Fund, $250; Physics; graduate only.

Boston University.—Sleeper fellowship, $500; graduate only. Philological Fellowship, $250; graduate.

University of California.—Le Conte fellowship, $500; may travel. Six fellowships, yielding $600 each, two of which are in Philosophy, and one each in Mineralogy, French, Pedagogy, History, and Political Science. One in Civil Engineering, $700. No tuition. Not confined to graduates of the University of California. Fellows assist in the work of their departments.

Dartmouth College has six resident graduate scholarships of $200 each.

Haverford College.—Four fellowships of $150 each and tuition. One each to a graduate of Haverford, Earlham, Ind., Wilmington, O., Penn, Ia.

University of Illinois.—Four fellowships of $400 each; holders must be graduates of the University and instruct from five to ten hours weekly.

University of Mississippi.—Four fellowships of $300 the first year, $400 the second year; must be graduates of the University and instruct one or two hours daily. (Not endowed, and suspended this year for lack of funds.)

Northwestern University.—Two fellowships of $400 each and tuition,—one in Physics and one in Chemistry; not endowed; incumbents must give limited assistance in instruction; open to graduates of any institution of good rank.

University of Pennsylvania.—One fellowship in Physics, $600; may study at any university approved by the faculty. Four fellowships for women in Philosophy, $225 each ($200 deducted for board if in residence).

Princeton University.—Five fellowships,—one in Social Science, $500; one in Biology, $400; one in English, $500; one in Oratory, $600; one in Archæology, $400. The first two less $150 for tuition; all open to graduates of any American college of not more than five years' standing.

University of the City of New York.—Two fellowships of $300, less $50 for tuition; open only to the two seniors whose scholarship is highest.

University of Rochester.—Two fellowships of $300 and tuition each; open to graduates of Rochester only.

University of Texas.—Three fellowships (one each in Latin, History, and Physics) of $300 each and tuition; graduates only; must assist.

Those having over ten graduate scholarships or fellowships each are:—

University of Chicago.—Twenty fellowships of $520 each; twenty of $320

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each. One in Latin, of $520; one in Latin, of $400; one in Political Economy, of $300; two in English, of $400; two in History, of $400; one in Comparative Religion, of $300. From all, tuition of $105 for three, or $120 for four terms, is deducted. Holders must devote not more than one-sixth of their time to service as instructors, upon a journal, or otherwise.

Clark University.—Ten senior fellowships of $600; ten junior fellowships of $400; ten senior scholarships of $200; ten junior scholarships of $100. In each case tuition fee of $200 is charged. Open to approved graduates of any institution; no service required.

Columbia College.—Twenty-four fellowships of $500 each, net. One Tyndall fellowship of $648 and free tuition if at Columbia. May study elsewhere.

Cornell University.—Two fellowships of $600 each; holders may be required to attend in the White Library four hours a day. These may be turned into one or two travelling fellowships at the discretion of the faculty. Twenty-one fellowships of $500 each; liable to four hours a week service. Appointees must file a bond of $1,000 to return money if they do not remain the full year.

Harvard University.—Harris fellowship, $500. Two Rogers fellowships of $750, Science. Four Parker fellowships of $700. One Kirkland fellowship, $550. One Walker fellowship, $500; Philosophy preferred. Eight Morgan fellowships, of which six yield $500, and two $400 each. One Gibbs scholarship. One San Francisco Club scholarship for graduate of the University of California. One Rocky Mountain Club scholarship for graduate of a Colorado college. The income of certain other funds usually expended in the undergraduate or other departments may be applied yearly to the graduate school, which the present year enjoys: in all 20 fellowships and 47 scholarships.

Johns Hopkins University.—Twenty fellowships of $500 each, less $150 for tuition. Distributed by the faculty among the departments. One Bruce fellowship in Biology, of $400 net. May study elsewhere. All open to graduates of any institution of good standing.

Vanderbilt University.—Nine fellowships of $300 to $500 each and tuition; open to any graduate, who must teach from one to two hours a day. Ten fellowships of $200 each, less $100 for tuition; no teaching.

University of Wisconsin.—One fellowship of $400 and tuition; awarded for two years. Eight fellowships of $400 each and tuition; one hour teaching or two hours of laboratory assistance required daily.

Yale University.—Two fellowships of $600 each. One fellowship of $600 in Physical Science. One fellowship of $500 in Physics; must act as assistant in Physical laboratory. One fellowship of $600; may study abroad if appointed a second year; open only to graduate of the academic department of Yale. Five fellowships of $400 each; open to any graduate, but preference given to those who have already spent one year in graduate study. Tuition sometimes charged.

To these positions men and woman are alike eligible in Syracuse, Minnesota, Michigan, Boston, California, Illinois, Northwestern, Pennsylvania, Chicago, Cornell, Wisconsin, and Yale; but women have, so far, held but very few of these appointments.

The following, as seen above, appoint only their own graduates: Amherst, Boston, Brown, Hamden-Sidney, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, University of City of New York, Rochester, Syracuse, Texas, and Washington and Lee. Those requiring services to the institution are Amherst, California, Chicago, Cornell, Hamden-Sidney, Illinois, Mississippi, Northwestern, Texas, Vanderbilt, Washington and Lee, and Wisconsin.

There are still some who object to the principle of aids to indi-

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vidual students. President Eliot, some years ago, vigorously protested that theological schools should not be eleemosynary institutions, and thought their numerous deturs had bribed indifferent men to enter the ministry. Mr. Charles Bonaparte calls the free schools "soup-houses." Much has been said in favor of the physical and moral value of working one's way through fitting-school and college. A *quid pro quo*, pay-as-you-go principle is occasionally illustrated by tales of students who even make money on their way through college. At a famous girls' school the pupils wash dishes and scrub floors, and some colleges still have long winter vacations that pupils may teach school. Meanwhile, many of these smaller funds are now not sufficient to pay tuition, which has been gradually raised, and are simply deducted from the term-bill and go into the college coffers entire, so that the college, rather than the student whom the donor had in view, is aided by them. I do not underestimate the evils which history shows to be so liable here, but these funds are no more labile than any other form of trust or mortmain. All depends upon the way in which they are administered. Every educational system or institution that is good is, in a sense, a charity, and the higher or more spiritual the end the greater the danger of miscarriage, but the greater the beneficence of successful application. As aids to indigence alone it is impossible to overestimate the public and personal good thus done, not only to recipient, but to giver.

With graduate aids the case is almost totally different. Most who profit by these in this country are young men of neither excessive wealth nor poverty, whose means have been taxed well toward, if not beyond, their limit, by expenses in college; who have demonstrated their intellectual superiority, and who are thus enabled to assume the risks of competing for leadership in some department of intellectual life. These positions are not given to those intending to become lawyers, doctors, or clergymen, or to enter any field of applied science. They must devote themselves to non-professional specialization, and generally expect to become professors in their line. With them academic freedom should reach its apotheosis; their first need is leisure and opportunity, and what more precious gift can be imagined to young men of either talent or genius? It is said that genius educates itself, and a study of the early lives of great men shows that the pedagogy of talent is radically different from that of mediocrity. We have lost—or rather never attained—the secret of a fit academic environment for the later adolescent stages of young men whose abilities are really of the very

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first order. In the vast and growing complexity of modern intellectual life it is just these who most need that subtle guidance of hint and suggestion in which pedagogic tact and help culminate. "To give to A," said the elder Grimm, of one of his best students, "the chapter-headings of the first old-Norse grammar, which I mean to write myself, would be to give away the whole thing." But just these apperception centres are the diet of nascent genius, which is either addled or disgusted by the method, grades, and reserves, of commonplace pedagogy. None can so profit by leisure and all the companionships of the higher life of culture, none is so docile to real leadership, and none so deserves the very best it can give, as these *élite* youth who are taking large risks, long delays, facing the certainty of an apprenticeship in subordinate positions with small pay, when in lower schools or professional lines they could command an immediate competence. Such men ought to be the very apples of the academic eye in every institution that has the least real university aspirations. Everything should be made tributary to their needs. To see such young men grow, fills a born teacher with reverence, awe, and delight, as every month is marked by progress, and he counts it the highest human service—nay, would transfer his own choicest germs of work and promise, and be himself but dung—to minister to the advent of real greatness. Work for and with such men is more stimulating and instructive than the best that any teacher ever gave; it maintains the age of youth in the youth of age, has undreamed-of sources of consolation in trouble, and is the very highest thing in what I deem the noblest of all human callings.

Fellowships that give leisure alone, without both guidance and eternal vigilance against unworthy appointments, may so lapse as to illustrate with peculiar force the law that the worst things are the perversions of the best. There is a strange *rapport* between stages of evolution and those of devolution. The fœtus has features and suggestions of old age; and, in learning to speak and move, children show many if not most symptoms of aphasia and motor disorder. This correspondence is particularly close between the two climacteric periods of adolescence and senescence. During the last few years I have systematically questioned many aging men of eminence concerning the early psychic symptoms of old age. Pending a later report I will only say here that the most salient of these symptoms are described in an admirable article of Professor Santayana, in Andrew Lang's "Oxford," and elsewhere, in a certain type of our *fin de*

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siècle collegians in whom the feeling gradually supervenes that perhaps, after all, effort is so partial and liable to be wrong that it is hardly worth while. This atmosphere of doubt before there have been whole-souled and hearty beliefs; of criticism before there has been creation; of reserve when there is nothing to reserve; of indifference because there is nothing hearty to choose between; of patient introspection while all the inner oracles remain mute,—this it is that blights youth, which is not real without enthusiasm and altruism, like a December chill in leafy June.

"This habit of carping, this trick of collecting notes, this inability to put a work through, this dawdling erudition; every Oxford man knows them and feels those temptations which seem to be in the air. Oxford is a discouraging place. College drudgery absorbs the hours of the students in proportion to their conscientiousness. They live in an atmosphere of criticism, they collect notes, they wait, they dream, their youth goes by, and the night comes when no man can work."

Mr. Lang's picture of a university as a "discouraging place," with both an exhausted air and an air of exhaustion, is in too dark tones for anything in this country yet, and must, I would fain hope, be overdrawn, or be applicable to only a special set. But all the tendencies in this direction have never before been so rife here.

Let me attempt a recipe how to turn the freshness and spontaneity of youth into the premature ripeness of age, eliminating the noon-day of consummate manhood, as follows: Select a vigorous young man of hybrid stock, with ancestral tendencies from diverse races already at strife in his soul, but of hitherto careful and judicious nurture. He has felt the calentures of an age when the blood is hot and its pressure high, as it must be that its tides may irrigate and mature the new cells and tissues; he has the normal craving for vivid feelings, the orgiastic impulses so strong that young men must have excitement on a low, if it is not offered on a high, plane. He has had the experiences normal at the dawn of this age of emotional prodigality. On the ball-team he has caught a glimpse of the glory of striving for others, and knows what a non-commercial standard of success means. But in intellectual work he does not find companionship either warm or large. Intellectual ideals are not supreme; the old class-spirit is broken up, and there is nothing to take its place. He brings his most cherished convictions and ideals to a mart where others just as sacred and cherished are diverse and even contradictory. Instead of one there are many equally tempting lines of excellence, and whichever he chooses he is liable to find himself mistaken and always tempted

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to "change saddles." All the complexity of the world of science is open to him. If he takes a course in the History of Philosophy, and finds views to which his soul goes out, the next system overturns them and he concludes that it is better to hold no opinions. He studies abroad, and if he has not a well-started specialty the maze thickens. He had a creed, but now doubts if even the world is real. He held a brief in one or more of the many causes of reform, but finds his indictments against Diabolos *nolle-prossed.* At every point he is thrown back upon himself, and pessimism has touched him with the Great Fatigue. He is a forlorn unit. He wanted to square himself with the universe, but finds it too large for him to catch its drift. Like the Romans in the old days when all creeds were tolerated, he feels that all things are alike true and alike false, while his heart is growing cold and his head gray in vain. Somehow, he is alluvium where he should be rock. He has lost the flavor of conviction, and, if he has not positive ill-health, he is a moral valetudinarian. We cannot bring back a lost unity of faith nor the days of the little college. Our only escape is in the enthusiasm that always goes with specialization and in making the new university spirit, whose still small voice is now heard among us, into a settled, corporate, academic tradition.

It is an axiom of the "new charity," now called a science as well as a virtue, that no man has a right to give doles to beggars without satisfying himself personally, or through some agency to that end, that his gift will do good and not harm to the recipient. It is just as wrong for universities to give fellowships to men fresh from college, save in the rarest cases, unless they are able not merely to follow or even suggest, but to guide and direct the work in detail. His reading methods should be the best the professor can command, and the entire resources of the institution should be a sort of orchestration to bring out the best melody in his soul. To waste the precious funds of noble donors and the precious energy of instructors upon either the dull or the idle students, now too often exposed in vain to the contagion of knowledge, is a breach of the highest trust. The difference between good and mediocre men is far greater than our academic estimates make it. Examinations, so indispensable for mass education, are not a mete touchstone. The defects and errors of some of our best institutions against young graduates are, to my mind, their almost unpardonable sin. Some, as we saw above, give them the honorable title and meagre stipend of Fellow, but, instead of giving incentive or even opportunity for growth, exact teaching

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and laboratory duties of them, which would otherwise cost far more, and thus degrade the title. Some institutions retain them as Fellows one or more years after graduation, and thus maintain the semblance of university work when the professor's time is so largely absorbed in class-room duties that the young candidate not only lacks all companionship, but must shift for himself. Other institutions appoint them in considerable numbers as instructors or assistants in positions of routine and drudgery, where but a small proportion can ever be advanced to permanence, so that they drop out limp and discouraged in a few years. In some institutions it is made a business virtue that by some such method as this the cost of instructing freshmen is reduced to a fraction of the cost of instructing upper classes. This is a sin against both teacher and pupil, and in strong contrast with European methods, where the best professor works for the youngest students.

In no cultivated land in history has a bright graduate who has once thoroughly fallen in love with his subject, and wishes to become a professor, so many difficulties, or so many dangers, as here. In a small humdrum college, where a superior young professor sometimes repeats in his own person the fable of the beautiful swan voted ugly among ducks, because a life spent in lesson-hearing does not satisfy him; or even in his home, where the bachelor's degree seems the end rather than the beginning; or, worse yet, in some college or university where men with intellectual ideals and inspired with work are not held in highest reverence—how often do we see, in Plato's phrase, the heaven-born pilot discredited as a star-gazer. Can a republic never learn the incalculable difference between the plodder who struggles up to his doctorate, and never does a thing after his thesis, and the man dowered with the divine power of sustained effort, who can not only do his best thing once or twice, but keep doing it through life, who loves to work over ideas, and who has a sure calling and election to the intellectual life? This is worse than putting $5,000 men to do $500 work; it is sinning against the Holiest.

No less imperative than general studies at first is specialization at the apex of an educational system. A broad basis and a high pinnacle are each alike incomplete without the other. In these days, when every branch of learning is comparative, and specialization no longer narrows, but reveals wider and deeper relations, and when nearly every department of life is governed by experts, we owe to all, and especially to these elect, something of the mastery that comes by concentration; for while few are so feeble that they cannot excel if they focus early

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enough or upon a point small enough, the greatest powers are now sure to fail if too much is attempted in specialization. The brain must be trained, like a good lens, to bring all that is in it to a focus so sharp that there are no dispersive fringes. Our utilitarian idea of general knowledge is, moreover, far more akin to that of Hippius, who would make his own clothes, cook his own food, etc., or that of Diderot, who would learn all trades, than to the noble Greek ideal of symmetrical development of every power. The young man who has had the priceless experience of self-abandonment to some happily chosen point was well illustrated in a man I knew. With the dignity and sense of finality of the American senior-year quick within him, his first teacher in Germany told him to study experimentally one of the seventeen muscles of a frog's leg. The mild dissipation of a somewhat too prolonged general culture, aided by some taste for breezy philosophic speculation, almost diverted him from so mean an object. But, as he progressed, he found that he must know in a more minute and practical way than before, in a way that made previous knowledge seem unreal, certain definite points in electricity, chemistry, mechanics, physiology, etc., and bring them to bear in fruitful relation to each other. As the winter proceeded, the history of previous views was studied, and broader biological relations seen; and as the summer waned and a second year was begun in the study of this tiny muscle, it was seen that its laws are the same in frogs and men; that just such contractile tissue had done all that man had accomplished in the world, and that muscles are the only organs of the will. As the work went on, many of the mysteries of the universe seemed to centre in his theme. In the study of this minute object he gradually passed from the attitude of Peter Bell, of whom the poet says,

> "A primrose by a river's brim,
> A yellow primrose was to him,
> And it was nothing more,"—

up to the standpoint of the seer who plucked a flower from "the crannied wall" and realized that could he but understand what it was, "root and all, and all in all," he would "know what God and man is." Even if my friend had contributed nothing in discovery to the temple of science, he had felt the *omne tutit punctum* of nature's organic unity, had felt the profound and religious conviction that the world is lawful to the core, and had experienced what a truly liberal and higher education—in the modern as distinct from the mediæval sense —really is.

G. STANLEY HALL.

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NEED OF AN INTERNATIONAL MONETARY AGREEMENT.

THE wise and permanent settlement of the silver question is to-day by far the most momentous problem which confronts the statesmanship of the civilized world. Upon it hinges possibly even the fate of civilization itself. I firmly believe that the only lasting adjustment of the currency of the world must be based on an agreement between all the great commercial, and therefore civilized, nations for the free coinage, upon some agreed ratio, of both gold and silver. As matters now are, no single nation can safely act upon this theory, from the certainty of drifting thereby into silver monometallism. The repeal of the silver-purchase law at the present session of Congress was wise and absolutely necessary to guard against a depreciated currency. If any one of the great commercial nations should alone open its mints for the free coinage of silver, the international balances would be paid to that nation in silver, while the other nations would refuse to take it back when the balances were reversed. Silver can be restored to its proper money position only by the concurrent action of Europe and America; in other words, by international bimetallism.

The present depression in all branches of trade throughout the world, and the enforced idleness of millions of workmen, are attributable in part to other causes, but far more to the demonetization of silver than to all other causes combined. There is a world-wide feeling of impending disaster, a conviction broad and deep that causes at work are more deep-rooted and serious than the ordinary fluctuations of trade. The conviction, too, is becoming general, that the root of the evil is the increasing scarcity of gold in proportion to the wants of commerce, and the change in the relative value of gold and silver, in consequence solely of the mistaken legislation of the last twenty years.

In considering this question there are certain general principles upon which all writers of authority in matters of finance are agreed.

1. That any stable currency must be either metallic or redeemable in metallic money. The paper promise of as strong a govern-

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ment as our own to pay to bearer a certain number of dollars would suffer instant depreciation unless the holder knew that he could, on demand, get gold dollars or silver dollars of equal debt-paying power therefor. This was illustrated during the civil war, when, from the doubt as to whether the greenbacks would be paid in coin, their value sank to less than 40 per cent of their nominal worth. Paper money is more convenient to handle than coin, and will be preferred for transactions of any magnitude so long as it is at any time and place convertible into coin, and no longer. A large reserve of metallic money is necessary to maintain confidence in paper money rather than for actual use.

2. That an increase in the quantity of money raises prices, and a diminution lowers them, as stated by Mill and other standard economic writers, is the most elementary proposition in the theory of currency, and, without it, we should have no key to any of the others. The volume of money should bear relation to the volume of business transacted, and, as this is constantly increasing in all parts of the world, a constant increase of the metallic basis of currency is indispensable. The coin of the world is constantly shrinking, from loss and abrasion, so that, unless large additions to it are made yearly, there is an actual and constant contraction of the currency, and a consequent tendency to a lowering of prices and wages. The gold and silver money of the world are of approximately equal value, and if, by legislation, one of these metals be suppressed from monetary service, the demand for the other is doubled, producing an unparalleled contraction of currency and universal disaster.

The law of supply and demand applies equally to the money metals and all other commodities, and the demand fixes the relative value. The law cannot fix the value of these metals, but it can fix, and from the earliest historic period has fixed, the ratio at which such metals are legal tender for the payment of obligations and the adjustment of exchanges. Prior to 1873, for a long period, the ratio between silver and gold was fixed at from 15½ to 16 pounds of silver to one pound of gold. The ratio being thus fixed, the demand for each metal was equal to the supply; but inasmuch as the demand for these metals, and especially for silver, was mostly for coinage into money,—"the one object of universal demand, since it has the imperial function of commanding all things else,"—when its money function was taken from silver, the demand therefor was vastly decreased, and its market value, as measured by gold, largely diminished. What is

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spoken of as a fall in the price of silver is the result, not in the least of increased production, but wholly of its measurable suppression as a money metal, whereby at least five-sixths of the demand was arbitrarily destroyed.

The primitive method of trade was by the simple and cumbrous exchange of commodities, and the evolution of metallic money was based upon the idea that a certain weight of gold or silver represented in labor approximately the amount of human effort required to produce the article for which it was exchanged. Gold and silver have been selected by universal consent as the metals best adapted for money. Reliable statistics are not available for more than about two hundred years, but from 1687 to 1873 the greatest variation in the ratio at which the two metals were exchangeable was a range between 14.14 of silver to 1 of gold in 1760, and 16.52 in 1813. During this time there was substantially a free coinage of both metals throughout the world, and while there were for several years instances where the production of gold was in value four times that of silver, and others where threefold as much silver as gold was produced, the variation was within the narrow limits named, and even that would not have existed had the communication between distant nations been as rapid as at the present time. The variations were mostly in the regulation of exchanges between such nations.

That increased variation since 1873 is caused solely by laws which ruptured the link between the two metals that had existed during the entire historic period, to the manifest convenience and good of the whole world. This legislation, by cutting off the demand for five-sixths of the silver production, and throwing the exchanges of the world upon gold, has vastly enhanced the value of gold, as measured either by silver or other commodities. The universal fall in prices steadily in progress since 1873 can be attributed to no other cause than the appreciation of gold. The brief periods of stagnation occurring occasionally from over-speculation, over-trading, bad crops, or other causes, are easily explainable and correct themselves, but nothing less than the restoration of silver to its proper position as a money metal can check the appreciation of gold, or, in other words, the disastrous fall in prices, which paralyzes industry to-day throughout the world, and is full of forebodings of widespread and immeasurable calamity, as well as of peril to the entire social fabric.

The present condition has obliterated the profits of agriculture, thus driving agricultural laborers to towns for employment, and at

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the same time, by crippling the market and destroying the profits of manufactures and commerce, has prevented vast numbers of laborers of all classes from obtaining employment in towns. No larger amount of either gold or silver has ever yet been produced than sufficed to meet the needs of the world for use as money and in the arts. The periods of restricted production of the precious metals have always been periods of depression in all arts and industries, and of the most widespread human suffering. It is easy to see that the production of the money metals and the production of commodities measured thereby will preserve nearly a common ratio unless interfered with by legislation. To illustrate: Assuming that the production of an ounce of silver and a bushel of wheat represent an equal amount of human effort, if the average producer of silver could earn more ounces of that metal per annum than the average farmer could produce of bushels of wheat by his labor, an exodus of farmers to the mines would follow, whereby less wheat would be produced, and the price would rise to its proper level, or above it, in which event the current of labor would flow back to agriculture. The process in all departments of human effort would be automatic, from the universal desire of men to invest their efforts where the return would be greatest.

Of course, in the case under discussion, if vast deposits of gold or silver were discovered, whereby the cost of the production of either would fall to the level of tin or copper, it would cease to be available as a money metal; but, as will be shown later, no such deposits of either metal have yet been discovered, as to indicate the possibility of over-production.

The cost of gold and silver in the labor by which they are measured is a question difficult, if not impossible, of solution. If the average daily wage of the workman of the United States engaged in mining be placed at $2.50, each workman must produce, before a profit could be made by the owner of a mine, upon the basis of free coinage of silver and gold at the ratio of 16 to 1, 928 grains of silver or 58 grains of gold per day after the fixed charges for interest, power, depreciation, etc., are paid; and, in the opinion of those best qualified to judge, this average has never yet been attained. The difficulty in the way of determining the exact cost of the production of the precious metals is in the obtaining of statistics of unprofitable mines. Probably at least five-sixths of all the money expended in the effort to produce the precious metals is without return. This species of mining is of all things the most precarious. The veins of

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gold- or silver-bearing ores are constantly varying in width, depth, richness, and cost of working, so that no prediction can be made as to their permanence or value. At least ninety-nine per cent of such veins prove unremunerative, and this, too, often, after large sums of money have been spent in opening and operating them. The mines paying a profit for a time are also at length exhausted, and the vast sums expended for plant and machinery are thereby lost. The question will naturally be asked, why, if the average cost of producing an ounce of silver is $1.29, it has been produced and sold at a much lower price for the past few years, and the answer is, that this production is a lottery. Among the countless losses are a few enormous gains, when a genuine bonanza is found, and each producer expects that his turn will soon come. It is probably true that, among the large audience of THE FORUM, there are not fifty people who have made a profit in legitimate gold- or silver-mining, while the losers are numbered by thousands, the most of whom observe a discreet silence as to these investments. The great fortunes made by four or five Californians in the working out of the great bonanza in the Comstock lode nearly bankrupted the remaining population of the State in their endeavor to go and do likewise. It is like a lottery in which every purchaser of a ticket knows that less than one-half the money paid for the tickets is ever refunded in prizes, and that there is not one chance in ten thousand that he will get back his money, yet the chance of getting a thousand dollars for one is so enticing, that lotteries have to be suppressed by law as a menace to the public morals.

It is often represented that the production of silver has recently been greatly cheapened by improved processes, but while this is true as to the separating and refining of the metal from the ores, the general result is insignificantly affected, since such improvements do not in any way affect the vast sums expended upon unprofitable mines, which represent eighty or ninety per cent of all expenses of production.

It is often urged by gold monometallists that the bulk of the business of the world is transacted by checks and bills of exchange, —representatives of money rather than the money itself,—and that, therefore, less metal money is needed than in the past; but the value of such bills is solely dependent upon their being instantly exchangeable for coin, and the coin reserve for safety must increase with the constant increase of the volume of the world's business. This business may be, as at present, temporarily checked, yet the increase is and will be constant, as all parts of the world heretofore uncivilized are opened

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up by expanding commerce. Drafts can be drawn only against cash reserves, and the limit of their use is the proportion of actual money which experience has shown to be the indispensable basis of credit.

Concerning the disaster following a contraction of currency, and the beneficent effect of its expansion, history offers instructive lessons. Alison has shown that the two most momentous epochs in the history of the human race and its civilization, the fall of the Roman Empire and the birth of modern civilization, are the direct results of the contraction and the expansion of the circulating medium. The power of Rome was greatest in the age of the Antonines, when the victories of her legions and the wisdom of the emperors had given peace and security to 120,000,000 of people, embracing the greater proportion of the then known world. At this time the gold and silver coinage of the empire amounted to £380,000,000. Simultaneously with this imperial dominion, when the Roman civilization had absorbed into itself, and made its own, the achievements of all the foregone ages and peoples, and when almost universal peace seemed to assure to the empire a career of unending progress and glory, came the exhaustion of the mines of Spain and Greece, whence had come the principal supplies of the precious metals for the ancient world. By the time of the Emperor Justinian, from abrasion and loss, and from exportation of coin to Africa and the Orient in settlement of trade balances, the coin in circulation was reduced to a nominal value of £80,000,000, although for purposes of comparison it was really about £46,000,000, the golden *aureus*—its debt-paying value remaining the same—having been reduced from 118 grains in weight to 68 grains. This indicates a total reduction in the currency to nearly one-eighth its former volume. During the period of contraction, the prices of labor and commodities had shrunk substantially in the same ratio, since there was no proportionate reduction in population or the number of transactions; and, as a result, the pressure of debts and taxes became so overwhelming, that national industries were ruined, agriculture was prostrated, and labor unrewarded; revenues were irrecoverable, and the famed legions dwindled to battalions, and battalions to cohorts, wretchedly paid, and, therefore, largely recruited from the swarms of tramps who infested and dominated the imperial city. No language can exaggerate the wretchedness of the Roman people, brought on by the contraction of their currency, or their consequent loss of public spirit and patriotism which rendered the destruction of the empire an easy task for the northern barbarians. After the destruction of the empire came the long period of intellectual

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and moral night. No increase was made for ages in the production of the precious metals, and the dawn of modern civilization came only after the voyage of Columbus had opened the mines of Mexico and Peru to European enterprise. The production of the precious metals was at once trebled; the prices of all commodities were correspondingly increased; learning, the arts, industries, and commerce revived with the influx of gold and silver; and the dawn thus heralded led on to the effulgent glories of the present age, to the crowning triumphs thus far made by man over the forces of nature.

It has been common to refer the fall of the Roman empire to its vast extension, to internal corruption, and to slavery, but it was most prosperous and enlightened when its territorial area was greatest; it was no more corrupt than four hundred years before, when Sallust waxed eloquent over the decadence of public morals; and slavery was not confined to Rome in that age, but was universal. It was not the lack of bravery in the depleted legions, but the lack of means efficiently to maintain them, which led to the extinguishment of Roman civilization. Similarly, it is to the revival of classical learning that the Renaissance is most often attributed, but this is an effect and not a cause; the cause was the increase of money and in the prices for labor and commodities, which freed mankind from the bondage of universal poverty, and allowed their thoughts, ambitions, and efforts to rise to the loftier fields of human achievement.

A still more recent illustration is seen in the commercial history of the world just prior to the discovery of gold in California and Australia. For many years previous, from wars and revolutions in Mexico and South America, the production of the precious metals had been considerably reduced, thus leading to a contraction in the currency, as compared with the volume of the world's transactions. This period was marked by widespread commercial disaster, by great social uprisings, by numberless strikes and turmoils, designated incorrectly as the strife between capital and labor. The large influx of the precious metals from California and Australia inaugurated a period of unprecedented progress in all arts, industries, and scientific discoveries; of rise in prices and wages, and of universal prosperity,—a progress checked only by the suicidal legislation of 1873, when silver was stricken from its position as a money metal.

There are only two possible justifications of gold monometallism—first, that there is a sufficient amount of gold to form a basis for the world's exchanges without an appreciation of its purchasing power;

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and second, that the production of silver is so great as to render it unfit for a money metal. As to the first, an appreciation of gold and a general and continuous fall of prices are convertible terms, and no intelligent person will deny that the purchasing power of gold, as measured by all other commodities, has vastly increased since 1873. Mr. Saurbeck's carefully prepared tables of the market value, from 1874 to 1892, of the forty-five principal commodities dealt in by civilized nations, show a constant fall in prices, amounting to an average of 33 per cent for the eighteen years, a depreciation sufficient to substantially wipe out the profits of business, and to necessitate a large reduction in the earnings of labor. The production of gold has apparently reached its maximum, and a large part of such production—variously estimated at from 40 to 70 per cent—is used for other purposes than coinage. The statistics of coinage are untrustworthy as showing the additions to the gold currency, for, since gold is coined without charge, and is uniformly alloyed by the various governments, users of this metal in the arts melt gold coin preferably to the bar gold, as its cost is exactly the same, and its purity is assured. The restriction of silver production, from its present low price, reduces largely the output of gold, since nearly one-third the gold produced heretofore came from the silver mines, where it is mixed in minute proportions with the silver, but where the ores are too lean to be worked for the gold alone.

It is evident from the constant rise in gold that its production is insufficient for the needs of the world's currency, even in the gold-using countries; and if the silver-using nations, comprising more than one-half the population of the globe, are compelled to join in the scramble for gold, its rise would be sufficient to produce well-nigh universal bankruptcy; it would double or treble the burden of all debts, and benefit nobody. Even now, so anxious is England, the financial centre of the world's exchanges, to hold her gold, that a call for a million pounds for export is resisted by an immediate doubling of the rate of discount in the frantic endeavor to avoid parting with the metal. This introduces in all kinds of legitimate business an element of gaming, since no one can foresee the rate he may be called on to pay for needed banking accommodations.

The second notion, that the large production of silver unfits it for a money metal, is entirely erroneous. There are wide fluctuations in the yearly productions of gold and silver, and, without free coinage of each at an agreed ratio, the prices of the two metals, in terms of

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each other, might vary widely; but the familiar simile of Jevons illustrates how bimetallism reduces such fluctuations to a minimum. Two cisterns represent the reservoirs of the gold and silver of the world: if these cisterns are separated, an exceptional increase or decrease in the production of either metal will cause a difference in the level between the two reservoirs; but if a pipe connects the cisterns, the level will be always the same. This reasoning is substantiated by the statistics of production of the two metals before 1873, where, for the few years from 1850 forward, more gold was produced than the entire stock of the world to that date, yet the ratio between the two metals was not varied. M. Chevalier, the eminent French economic writer, was so much disturbed by this increased production of gold, that he published a book advocating its demonetization and the use of silver alone, which volume was translated into English, and its views indorsed by Richard Cobden. Since, however, the coinage of both metals was free, none of the evils anticipated was experienced, but instead came an era of unexampled prosperity. From 1860 England had demonetized silver, but as all other nations still opened their mints to its free coinage, none of the disastrous consequences of such demonetization was felt until 1873. The ideal condition in commerce would obtain if values were maintained on a steady level, but this ideal can never be exactly realized, because the production of the two precious metals is subject to wide fluctuation; but such changes are much less where the basis is upon two metals rather than one, and where a decreased production of one might often be offset by a increased production of the other.

The best available statistics show that there is no such increase in the production of silver, as compared with gold, as to call for its demonetization. The ratio in Europe from 1801 to 1870 was $15\frac{1}{2}$ of silver to 1 of gold. During this period the production of gold throughout the world was $3,383,459,000, and of silver $2,239,672,000 at the above ratio, showing that less than $15\frac{1}{2}$ times as much silver as gold was produced. From 1871 to 1892, both inclusive, the last date to which reliable statistics are now available, the world produced of gold $2,450,084,000, and of silver, at $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, $2,618,687,000; or, taking the whole period from 1801 to 1893, of gold $5,833,543,000, and of silver, $4,858,359,000, which figures would indicate that, without the hostile legislation of 1873, the relative value of the two metals would not have been materially different in 1893 from what it was in 1801; if anything, silver would have been a little

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higher. The figures show that, from 1871 to 1893, $168,000,000 more in value of silver at 15½ to 1 than of gold, was produced; but a difference of $168,000,000 in a total of $5,068,771,000 would not have affected the relative value if the coinage laws of former years had been unchanged. This is proved by the unchanged ratio in the 'fifties, when the production of gold was so vastly increased.

Cheapness is a relative term, and a fall in the prices of goods or provisions, caused by improved machinery, transportation, or methods, is an unmixed good, as placing the comforts of life within reach of a constantly increasing proportion of the people; but a cheapness caused by a forced sale below the cost of production, or by a reduction of wages below a living standard, is an unmixed evil. The world's prosperity is based upon all labor being constantly employed at fair wages, as this gives the purchasing power to all, whereby a general over-production is impossible. Over-production in a general way is caused solely by a lack of earning-capacity on the part of would-be purchasers; and, as the most potent factor in the want of earning-capacity is a shortage of currency, an increase in the metallic circulating medium of the world, enhancing, as it would, confidence in the paper circulation based thereon, would seem to be the imperative necessity of the day. The loss in wages in the United States at the present time, from want of employment, or from only partial employment of those desirous of work, cannot be less than $5,000,000 per day, and in Europe it is at least as much more; and if this amount could be earned, and immediately expended, as it would be, it would set in motion all our idle industries, and furnish a market for their products. The army of the unemployed will constantly increase as long as prices continue to fall, whereby the investment of capital in productive enterprises is discouraged.

The advocates of gold monometallism, when claiming that the universal fall of prices, and the distress consequent thereon, are not the result of the demonetization of silver, are in the curious position of asserting that restricted coinage of silver has not lowered prices, while unrestricted coinage would dangerously inflate them.

It is urged, as an argument against the remonetization of silver, that such legislation would, by law, give large profits to the holders of uncoined silver, and that to legislate money into the pockets of any class is an evil; which is true as a general proposition. But, as the legislation of 1873 has legislated untold millions from the pockets of the same class, the argument loses much of its force, and the law

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would seem to be, in a way, but a just atonement for a grievous wrong.

Inasmuch as prices cannot, from the nature of things, be maintained on an even level, as between an average of slightly falling or slightly rising prices, so far as legislation can affect the matter, it would seem as if the latter result would be the more desirable. At even or slightly advancing prices, all labor can be employed at reasonable rates, and capital can secure a profit sufficient to withdraw it from the small-earning investments supposed to be safe, to use in active operations. At even slightly falling prices, the investment of capital is discouraged, labor is to some extent unemployed, and necessarily subjected to reduced earning-capacity.

It is argued that rising prices inflict a hardship on those with fixed incomes, since such incomes can purchase, from the advanced prices, less of the necessaries or luxuries of life. To this there are two answers. First, that this class is small, and its interests should not be allowed to interfere with the prosperity of the immeasurably larger proportion of the people; and second, that it is not true. In our complex civilization, all prosper or suffer in common. No money-lender or landlord can draw revenue from customers whom his exactions have impoverished. The fixed-income classes in England, to whom all the world owes money, have suffered vastly from the contraction of the currency caused by silver legislation, as this has impoverished their Argentine, Australian, Egyptian, and Turkish customers; and the impending bankruptcy of India, which can be averted only by wise silver legislation, will, if such legislation be too long delayed, be a colossal and costly object-lesson to English financiers. It is much better for a receiver of income to have this income paid in mixed gold and silver than not to have it paid at all.

England has many able economic writers, who favor gold monometallism, but, without exception, these writers concede that the price of gold, as measured in all commodities, has advanced and will continue to advance, which is all that rational bimetallists need establish to prove the rightfulness of their cause. No purchaser of goods, or borrower of money payable at a future time, should be obliged to return more value than called for by his agreement, which he does when confronted by a constant appreciation of the money metal.

As to the ratio between the two metals, under an international agreement, it should be fixed by a board of experts of commanding ability, whose award would thereby assure general assent. As stated,

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at 15½ to 1, the excess of silver produced above gold from 1871 to 1892 inclusive was $168,000,000. Changing the ratio from the European to our own, 16 to 1, would reduce such excess to less than $87,000,000: making the ratio 18 to 1, the excess in value of gold produced would be $195,000,000. These results would indicate the proper ratio to be between 15½ and 18 pounds of silver to one of gold, inasmuch as the amount of gold and silver money in the world has heretofore been about equal, and to this equality the commerce of the world has adjusted itself from time immemorial.

In conclusion, there seem to be two great reforms imperatively called for in the realm of the world's commerce. First, an agreement whereby five dollars, the pound sterling, twenty-five francs, and twenty marks be made of equal value, and these coins, by whatever name called, be adopted by all nations; second, the free coinage of both gold and silver throughout the world into these coins and their decimal parts, whereby all moneys, wherever coined, will circulate throughout the world and be of equal purchasing power.

FRANKLIN H. HEAD.

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THE FOLLY OF FURTHER SILVER AGITATION.

THERE was a scene in the House of Representatives when Mr. Bland tried to pass the Seigniorage Bill over the President's veto, which astonished that persistent leader of the free-silver party and encouraged every friend of sound finance to believe that our silver delirium had ended. There was a full House. Mr. Bland was primed for a bitter attack upon "the bondholders" and the bankers, who, in his imagination, turn on and turn off panics like stage thunder and lightning, and he was expected to attack the President in the usual terms of free-silver invective. The speech is among the things left unsaid, for no sooner had Mr. Bland given notice of his intention to have several days' debate, than he became the centre of a cyclone of thundering protest, and cries of "Vote!" "Vote!" filled the chamber. Nothing else could be heard. There was a stern tone to the noisy demand, which to many sounded like the death-knell of free-silver agitation, at least for this Congress. Mr. Bland grimly said that he was prepared for a vote at once if the House wanted it, and, to the relief of all, the roll-call was started. It was well known that the veto of the President would be sustained, and the House wanted no further talk on the silver question. Members privately said, "There's no more to be said," "The subject has been talked out," and "We are tired of the whole silver business." A Southern member, who thought he had imperilled his seat by voting to repeal the Sherman Law, and had pleaded for the Seigniorage Bill so that, as he said, the free-silver fighters could retire from the contest with their side-arms, as the rebel officers did by Grant's grace to Lee at Appomattox, threw up his hands in complete surrender, and said: "The South must look somewhere else for more money." From that day the South has been more interested in State-bank currency than in trying to "do something for silver," and the Greenbacker and the free-silver advocate have lost the strongest party in the free-coinage, cheap-money and fiat-money alliance.

The financial situation accordingly has cleared up. We have gone out of the silver business, and it is believed that we mean to

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stay out, and to let any other nation that wants to try it single-handed go ahead. We have had enough. It has cost us more than we can calculate, and has robbed us of the full fruition of the golden era of prosperity following the resumption of specie payments. The world then trusted us and poured its gold into our lap. It began to take it back when it saw that we were so saturating our currency with silver as a result of makeshift legislation that our ability, if not our purpose, to repay in kind, was being weakened. For ten years we have been under suspicion, and in 1893 we began to suspect ourselves. We have now repented of our financial sins, and we have written into our statutes two solemn pledges to the same effect: the first being in the law of 1890, which says that it is—

—"the established policy of the United States to maintain the two metals on a parity with each other upon the present legal ratio, or such ratio as may be provided by law,"—

and the other being the final clause of the repealing act of 1893, which says:

"And it is hereby declared to be the policy of the United States to continue the use of both gold and silver as standard money, and to coin both gold and silver into money of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value, such equality to be secured through international agreement, or by such safeguards of legislation as will ensure the maintenance of the parity in value of the coins of the two metals, and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets and in the payment of debts. And it is hereby further declared that the efforts of the government should be directed to the establishment of such a safe system of bimetallism as will maintain at all times the equal power of every dollar coined or issued by the United States, in the markets and in the payment of debts."

This sounds more like a political platform than a law; but, such as it is, it is our own, and with it we have dropped anchor in the financial fog alongside of the nations which have been in an "attitude of expectancy" since we first began to encourage them to expect something from our bold attempt to legislate the fog out of the sky. Our chief concern now is to convince the world that we are through trying to solve its great silver problem single-handed, and that, as we have three times invited the nations to a conference, and have three times been politely bowed, empty-handed, out of Europe, we propose now to await an invitation from some power of equal dignity. Nothing else remains for us to do. In our efforts to steady the falling price of silver we have added to our currency $419,332,550 standard silver dollars, and have purchased 168,674,682 fine ounces of silver at a cost of $155,931,002, and issued legal-tender notes to that amount,

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to which we have given gold redemption privilege. The 459,946,701 fine ounces of silver which we have purchased since 1878 have cost us $464,210,262, an average price per fine ounce of $1.0093, and we have paid for it all in gold. At the end of our experiment to legislate the price of silver up, we find that it drops to the lowest point in its history, that the market price remains feverish in the presence of our big supply of bullion, and that we have so stimulated the silver production that its annual supply has increased 140 per cent. Our policy of issuing a sort of warehouse receipt against silver bullion, and making it a legal tender for public and private debts, has started the Populists to wondering why we cannot, as a nation, warehouse wheat in the same way; and the Greenbackers to wondering why we dig the silver from the bowels of the earth and hide it again below ground in vaults before printing the money. This seems to them a waste of labor. The evils of inflation have attended the experiment, and the collapse of booms and the shock to credit in the reaction have been accompanied by such social confusion as "industrial armies" demanding fiat money by the ream.

Further agitation of the silver question appears useless. We have certainly nothing to be proud of in our silver legislation, and in the opinion of competent observers we have actually so relieved the pressure upon the available gold of other nations, by driving much of our own supply out of our keeping into theirs, that we have retarded formal international consideration of bimetallic propositions. One writer says: "I say in sorrow that England and the silver party of the United States have been the twin enemies of silver and of the world."

The silver craze of the West and South is on its last legs. It has a contempt for everything except the absolute free coinage of silver at the present ratio of 16 to 1, and it wants our mints set going to take the stock of the world; its firm conviction, as voiced by its chief prophet, Mr. Bland, being that free coinage here will fix the price of the metal at par with gold the world around. The open mints of India, Mexico, Japan, and the South American countries did not keep silver from falling from $1.30 an ounce in 1873 to 65 cents in 1893. The open mints of France prior to 1872 did not keep it from rising, and the mints which are to-day open fail to fix the price of the bullion. In 1892, Mexico, Japan, and India coined silver to the face value of over $81,000,000, and the price went on down. Those who believe that we can make the price at our mints are growing fewer.

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Those who are convinced, however reluctantly, that our true policy is to wait, do nothing, and "stand our hand," are undoubtedly in the majority. It seems a good time for silence,—and that of the commonest kind. We are ready to welcome bimetallism when other nations will join with us. As a large producer, owner, and user of silver, we are naturally predisposed to an agreement between nations to give it international use. Every country fully understands this. What good, then, can further agitation do? A group of bimetallists has started to work in Boston, which antagonizes the free-coinage programme of the silver party as represented in Congress, but insists that an effort is possible in other directions. Of course this will put on the *qui vive* every free-silver fanatic in and out of politics, and he will take courage in the presence of defeat. What is the proposition? What can rally the "rainmakers" of finance? The Bostonians point across the seas. England is cornered; she has but one path of escape,—the path of international agreement. This may be true. Time alone can tell, but clearly it is our duty to keep quiet on the whole silver question. If we stir the matter round and round, and have every demagogue in the land keep telling the farmer at the cross-roads that the reason his wheat is selling low is because of "the crime committed against silver in 1873," quoting the Boston bimetallists in support of his assertion, and asking to be sent to Congress to get that wrong righted, England will have cause to doubt our complete cure. The more we talk about silver, the less England will bother about it. When she finds it to her interest to change her policy, she will do it, and it is useless to try to convince her, by agitation here, that she does not know what she is about.

The best use of money is to pay debts, and the best money is that which can pay the most debts. The country which has the coin which can go into every land and every market, and cancel debts as fast as it meets them, has a commercial advantage. Will any such country admit to equal partnership a competitor and rival? Certainly not, until the trade or money compensations promise to exceed in value what she surrenders.

There are many difficulties about an international agreement, but none of them are important, while England shows no sign of yielding. There is no hope for bimetallism without England's co-operation, and the obstinacy, pugnacity, and prejudice of the British temper, which is not moved by a ceaseless agitation for Home Rule in Ireland, may be expected to be even more intense when it is asked

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to partition the peculiar power of England as the creditor nation for which her redcoats have battled in every clime. Are we sure of other countries? As to Germany, Count Alvensleben, the delegate at the Brussels conference, said: "Germany, being satisfied with its monetary system, has no intention of modifying its basis." As to France, Mr. Tirard, the French delegate, said:

> "The enormous quantity of silver which France already owns imposes upon her the greatest prudence, and she will not accept any proposal except upon the condition that this stock of depreciated metal should not be increased, or, supposing that it were increased, that it should not be without very serious compensations."

The delegate from Austria-Hungary declined to give an opinion or to vote, and a very simple resolution proposed by our delegates, declaring that, in the opinion of the Conference, "it is desirable that some measures should be formed for increasing the use of silver in the currency systems of the nations," did not have friends enough to justify those who proposed it to press it to a vote. As the spokesman for the bimetallists in the Conference, the Baron de Renzis, of Italy, in moving to adjourn the fruitless convention, said: "Since England is the first market of the world, it is from England that the first gleam of hope should come." To the delegates from Great Britain he said: "Englishmen, shoot first!" England did shoot. She closed the mints of India, and took, as it has been said, "a leap in the dark." She may be suffering, but she is not signalling for our help.

What possible pressure can we exert upon her? Moral suasion cannot serve. What argument are we going to use? Well, it is said that the exclusion of silver from the mints of the great nations has wrought havoc and ruin; that the fall of silver has dragged down other prices, ruined agriculture especially, enhanced the value of gold, doubled the wealth of creditors, and is bankrupting the debtor nations. Undoubtedly there are hard times in the world. They come now and then. If we ascribe the woes of the universe to a restricted use by certain nations of one of the money metals, we will be told that all of the available gold and silver produced since 1873, and not used in the arts, has been coined somewhere. There was nothing else to do with it. If it was coined in the far East instead of the West, it has not been lost as money, and remains a part of the total mass by which all values are measured. The world's stock of money has enormously increased, and its physical use in the volume of business has been so minimized by checks, drafts, bills of ex-

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change, telegraphic transfers, clearing-house certificates, etc., that it has in effect been multiplied many times. More silver is in use than ever. Mr. E. O. Leech, ex-director of the Mint, in an address before the American Bankers' Association last year, stated that the silver product of the last twenty years, amounting in coinage value to $2,400,000,000, had, with the exception of $100,000,000 used in the arts, been coined. In thirty years the money of actual redemption of the principal countries has been doubled. From the foundation of the Republic to 1873 we had coined 8,031,238 silver dollars. We have coined 419,332,550 silver dollars since. Now, what has the refusal of certain nations to coin silver to do with the fall in prices? Economists are beginning to study this question with care. Its examination might assist the Boston bimetallists to the conclusion that the Western and Southern demand for free coinage is no more absurd than the arguments by which it has been fortified. The farmer has been led to believe that the gold standard has doubled his debts and wiped out half the former price of his products. The Boston bimetallists say:

> **"A debt contracted with wheat at a dollar a bushel is paid twice over with wheat at fifty cents, and thus, while the creditor is receiving double his due, the debtor is being ruined."**

What is the remedy? To cut the debt in two? This is the essence of the free-coinage proposition. In other words, as the prices of commodities depreciate, the currency should be depreciated. Turn the proposition end for end. If, perchance, a debt is contracted with wheat at fifty cents a bushel, is it half paid with wheat at a dollar, and does the creditor receive half his due?

The free-silver men and the Boston bimetallists both feel convinced that the adoption of the gold standard started a great, grinding, commercial glacier creeping slowly over the earth, sparing neither gold, bimetallic, nor free-silver countries, crushing values, increasing debts, and cutting down the price of cotton, wheat, and other products of labor. The exchangeable value of money, it is claimed, has been increased by legislation; but if that money is hired out, it produces less rent than ever before. It buys less labor and less professional service; it buys less ivory, fewer masterpieces of painting and sculpture, less of an opera or of a great tragedian's talent. It buys more of the staples, for the simple reason that the supply exceeds the demand at the central markets. Then, too, the tendency of the price of staples is toward the lower cost of production and delivery.

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Wheat is cheaper, because the fields of Argentina, India, Victoria, and Russia compete with the Dakotas; improved harvesting machinery has gone into foreign lands; Bessemer steel rails have been laid; the Alps have been penetrated; Africa has been intersected by the Suez Canal; India and Russia are penetrated by railways; triple-expansion engines have been put into mammoth steamers; and tramp steamers, which were crack passenger-vessels a quarter of a century ago, are poking their noses into every port where there is a cargo of food-supply obtainable. There was a candid and impartial examination of this subject recently published in the New York "Sun," and the conclusion of its author was that if there is the remotest relation between the price for an ounce of silver and the value of a bushel of wheat or any other product, "it must be of such an occult character that only a Mahatma can trace it." Yet nothing has been more mischievous in the silver controversy in this country than the persistent hypothesis that silver, in falling, has dragged down everything else. The decline in silver and in the cereals has been charted and pictured, and framed by the deadly parallel, and every anxious defender of the free-silver dogma is leashed to some such demonstration. The year 1893, however, furnishes an object-lesson of some importance. Silver has had its most violent decline in this period, and, if the free-silver notion is true, the prices of staple products should have been similarly affected.

What are the hard facts? While silver has fallen to the lowest point, due to the withdrawal from the market of the largest remaining users,—the United States and India,—the prices of the cereals which have been classified with it have had no such fall. Indeed, if a somewhat broader view of the history of prices is taken, it appears that, although silver has fallen since 1887 about 30 per cent, the index-number used by the London "Economist" to represent the combined prices of twenty-two leading commodities shows that these prices, on January 1, 1894, were a little above what they were in 1887, and that, despite the heavy drop of silver in 1893, the fall of the prices of commodities as registered by this same index-number was less than 2 per cent. In the first three months of this year, when silver has declined over 10 per cent from its January price, the combined prices of the twenty-two leading commodities forming the "Economist's" index-number have declined less than 3 per cent, and are now about on the level of the year 1886. The monopoly of silver has been broken, and, as a commodity, it is subject to the common influence of the law

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of supply and demand, which moves up and down the prices of other products. Losing its monopoly, its fall in price is naturally not in harmony with that of articles which have never had a monopoly, and leading German bimetallists pronounce absurd the attempts to establish the coincidence so stoutly defended by the free-silver men in this country. The causes of the variations in prices belong to the articles themselves. These causes differ and change according to the conditions of time and place under which the articles are produced, shipped, offered, or sought for. The spots on the sun, a strike, an invention, the degree of rainfall, the seventeen-year locust, or the grasshopper certainly have more to do with them than any legislative acts stopping the coinage of a metal by a few countries. It is, moreover, the business of civilization, and it always will be, to cheapen what mankind most needs.

The exaggerations of the free-silver orator become more mischievous when they have the approval of the Boston international bimetallists. They intensify the superstition in respect to silver which abides in the interior, and which it is a public duty to try to overcome. Will England consent to bimetallism, if it will make her food-supply cost her more? The cause of the Western farmer who wants more for his wheat will not become the cause of his chief customer who wants to get wheat cheap. Such argument does not appeal to John Bull. We should leave his conversion to his own people. All we have to do with England is to get as much of her gold as we can, and our surest way to do that is to re-establish the confidence of the English investor in our financial integrity. We can do this by adapting ourselves to the world's present way of doing business, just as though we expected no other. When England wants us to confer about bimetallism, she knows the address of our Ambassador. The prospect that she ever will consent to any unlimited coinage of silver, either at home or in India, at less than the market ratio, is none too cheering. We may wish her bimetallic party Godspeed, and commend to it the saying that Time, patience, and sweet oil will carry a snail to Jerusalem.

JOS. C. HENDRIX.

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THE SUCCESS OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN INDIA.

WITHIN recent years there has been a great increase in the foreign missionary work of the Protestant churches. The annual contributions for their support have nearly tripled in twenty-five years, and in 1892 amounted to $14,588,354.[1] There are those who, like Judas, deplore this expense, and suggest that the money would be better spent in charity at home. But as the contributions for the support of Protestant missions all over the world did not in 1892 quite equal the sum estimated to have been spent on the poor of the one city of New York in the season of 1893–94, it will hardly be claimed that the poor are neglected on account of missions. Of the four societies that expend over $1,000,000 a year each, three are American, and are supported by the Methodists, the Presbyterians, and the Baptists. The Congregational Board spends about $750,000.

So much of this investment and expenditure as is made in India is wasted, according to an article by Mr. Gandhi, of that country, in the April FORUM, in which explanations are offered for a failure that is assumed, not proved or even indicated. I purpose to show that missions in India are successful, and that the chief obstacles they encounter are those features of Asiatic society and religion which no educated and travelled Hindu gentleman can be proud of.

Protestant Christianity is growing in India as fast as it is in the United States, and the growth of the missionary churches has exceeded the estimates, or rather the conjectures, of the missionaries twenty-three years ago. The centennial of Carey's arrival in India has now been celebrated. For many years after 1813, native Christians were denied civil rights under a government of Englishmen, and much of what is now British India was closed to missionaries by native princes; and the man who abandons the national religion for the religion of the conqueror is still subject to some ostracism and private persecution. Until half a century ago, missionaries had done little but prepare the ground, and it was not till the Mutiny that the Christian people of England were aroused to their responsibilities and responded to them.

[1] James S. Dennis, D.D., "Foreign Missions after a Century."

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According to the figures of the Bombay missionary conference of last year, the communicants in Protestant churches in India numbered 182,722 at the end of 1890, which was a little more than the communicants in the Presbyterian Church, South, in the United States. From 1880 to 1890[1] the Methodist Episcopal communicants in the United States increased 31 per cent, the Congregational 33 per cent; the Presbyterian, North, 37 per cent, and the Protestant Episcopal 55 per cent. In the churches of India represented at the Bombay conference, between 1881 and 1890 the increase of communicants was 61.24 per cent. This rate of increase is a little discouraging in view of the fact that the communicants increased 114.56 per cent between 1871 and 1881, and 111.46 per cent in the previous ten years. In spite of the Mutiny, the increase between 1851 and 1861 was 70 per cent. Baptist missionaries worked among the Telugus thirty years to get 25 converts, and then baptized 2,222 converts in one day, and 8,691 in six weeks, and now have over 50,000. The ordained ministers, both native and foreign, are not much in excess of one to 200,000 of the population, but the number of ordained natives is increasing rapidly. In 1890 there were nearly 300,000 pupils in the mission schools. Instead of reckoning six adherents to one communicant, as in the earlier years, the missionaries in 1890 reckoned only three, so careful are they not to exaggerate, though "statistics of conversions," wrote Sir Charles U. Atchison, lieutenant-governor of the Punjab, to the Rev. Robert Stewart, of Sialkot, in 1886, "are no proper or adequate test of missionary work." In 1871 the missionary statisticians reported that at the then rate of progress there might be nearly 1,000,000 Protestant Christians in India in 1901, 11,000,000 in 1951, and 138,000,000 in 2001; but they added: "It is needless to state that such calculations hardly come within the bounds of sobriety." Yet at four adherents to a communicant they would have had a good deal over 700,000 in 1891, and would have many more than 1,000,000 in 1901.

It is impossible here to give the statistics of hospitals and schools and printing-presses, and to quote at length the testimony of English officials to the value of missionary work. Dr. George Smith says:

"No statistics can show the growth of these native Christians in wealth, in social position, in official and professional influence. They are pushing out the Brahmans, many of them being simply Christian Brahmans, by character, by

[1] H. K. Carroll, "Religious Forces in the United States."

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ability, and by intelligent loyalty, till the Hindu press confesses the fact with apprehension, and the local blue-books report it continually to Parliament." [1]

Sir Richard Temple says of the native Christians in Southern India:

"My conversation with them impressed me with their simple and absolute fidelity, their loyal feeling toward their European pastors, their resolute desire to transmit the faith unimpaired to their children. . . . I never heard but one opinion from magistrates, civil officers, and independent observers; namely, this, that these people are well-behaved, law-abiding, free from crime, temperate, harmless. . . . That they never cause scandals to arise, never apostatize, never compromise themselves with idolatrous practices, and yet never engage in feuds, or even in disputes with their heathen neighbors. As for their inner life —let any person who is acquainted with the practical ethics of Hinduism, not as gathered from sacred writings accessible only to the learned, but as displayed in the conduct of public worship and the effect of private example—contrast all that with the pure belief and the virtuous instruction under which they now live. He will then find it impossible to doubt the enormous effect morally and spiritually produced by Christianity on their minds and hearts. . . . The conduct of the native Christians is good, and worthy of the faith they profess." [2]

The letter from Sir Charles U. Atchison, above mentioned, was written in consequence of a statement in the book of an American naturalist, who had spent some time in India looking for wild animals and not for native Christians, that the British officials in India had no faith in the work of the missionaries, so far as spreading the Gospel was concerned. Sir Charles wrote:

"Any one who writes that Indian officials as a class have no faith in the work of missionaries as a civilizing and Christianizing agency in India must either be ignorant of the facts or under the influence of a very blind prejudice. . . . Missionary teaching and Christian literature are leavening native opinion, especially among the Hindus, in a way and to an extent quite startling to those who take a little personal trouble to investigate the facts." [3]

It would be difficult to name three more eminent Anglo-Indians of the present generation than Lord Lawrence, whose influence over the Sikhs kept them loyal in the Mutiny, and who was afterward viceroy; Sir Bartle Frere, who was governor of Bombay; and Sir Richard Temple, thirty-four years in India, political resident at Hyderabad, finance minister, lieutenant-governor of Bengal, and governor of Bombay. Sir Bartle Frere wrote a book about missions in India, which he said were accomplishing "a great moral and

[1] "The Conversion of India," p. 204: London, 1893.

[2] "Men and Events of My Time in India," pp. 455, 500.

[3] This letter, and letters extremely complimentary to both the religious and the secular work of missionaries, from Commissioner H. E. Perkins and Deputy Commissioner A. L. Roberts of the district including Sialkot, were published in the New York "Tribune" in the spring of 1886.

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intellectual revolution." I have already quoted from Sir Richard Temple, and shall do so further. Of Lord Lawrence, whose secretary he was early in life, he says:

"He rejoiced to mark the progress of Christian missions belonging to all Protestant denominations. This progress he deemed to be very considerable, and to be fraught with results that ought to stimulate the zeal of the Church in Great Britain. He placed a high value upon the labors of the missionaries as bringing about the conversion of large numbers among tribes that had not yet fallen under any one of the dominant religions of the East, and diffusing, by means of education, the leaven of Christian morality among the masses of the rising generation. He held also that the existence of the missions, and the example set of the lives of the missionaries, produced a good effect politically by raising the national repute of Englishmen in the esteem of natives." [1]

I invite particular attention to that last sentence.

Lord Harris, governor of Bombay, has testified:

"I do not think I can too prominently say that our gratitude to the American Marathi Mission has been piling up and piling up all the years of this century. . . . I take this public opportunity of conveying, on behalf of the Government of Bombay, our most grateful thanks for the assistance the people of the United States are rendering this Government in pushing forward the cause of education in India." [2]

Other prominent Anglo-Indian witnesses to the utility of these missions have been General Sir Herbert Edwardes, Sir Donald McLeod, lieutenant-governor of the Punjab, Lord Napier and Ettrick, governor of Madras, Sir Augustus Rivers Thompson, lieutenant-governor of Bengal, Sir William Muir, and Sir W. W. Hunter, head of the statistical department. Earlier than most of these was this official declaration in a blue-book:

"The Government of India cannot but acknowledge the great obligation under which it is laid by the benevolent exertions of these six hundred missionaries, whose blameless example and self-denying labors are infusing new vigor into the stereotyped life of the great populations placed under English rule, and are preparing them to be in every way better men and better citizens of the great empire in which they dwell." [3]

But testimony not less conclusive and even more opportune is afforded by Mr. Gandhi, who attributes the Brahma Samaj, its more influential successor the Arya Samaj, and a revival in Hinduism, itself, to the stir created by the missionaries. Considering the disparity between their numbers and those of the natives, this is great

[1] Page 331.

[2] "Missionary Herald," March, 1892.

[3] "Mental and Moral Condition of India," 1871–72. Transmitted to Parliament by the Secretary of State for India.

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praise. The Brahma Samaj movement was said by Max Müller, more than twenty years ago, to be "the most momentous movement in this momentous century." Its most distinguished member, Keshub Chunder Sen, said in the town hall of Calcutta, April 9, 1879, speaking not as a Christian, but as a Theist:

"You cannot deny that your hearts have been touched, conquered, and subjugated by a superior power. That power, need I tell you, is Christ. It is Christ who rules British India, and not the British Government."[1]

The missionaries have made converts in all classes of society, but in the higher castes they have made few. Of the Rev. Krishna Mohan Banerji, Sir Richard Temple says:

"Sprung from the highest caste, he learnt from Christian teaching to feel a catholic charity for all the humbler castes of his countrymen, and seemed to perceive that one mode of propagating Christian principle among the heathen is to let them feel the warmth of Christian sympathy. Though his influence was perhaps not acknowledged by the upper classes, it really was considerable among the numerical majority of educated Hindus at the capital."

The mission work has succeeded better in the country than in the cities, and among the aboriginal tribes and the people of no caste than among the high-caste Hindus and the Mohammedans. Two reasons for this are obvious, and we should not expect a Hindu gentleman to call attention to them. One is the subjection of man; the other is the subjection of woman. Both are protected from assault by that apathy which is characteristic of Asia, and which seems to attain its highest—or lowest—development among the Hindus. The climate paralyzes action, and the highest achievements of indigenous religious thought are contemplation and non-existence. Costumes, implements, institutions undergo no change. Learning is not increased, tyranny is not resisted, deception is not questioned, progress is not even understood where Asia is free from Western invasion. Appealed to by the West to awaken, and "live by knowledge and peace and love," the East responds, in the verses of Sir Alfred C. Lyall,—

If the lords of our life be pleasure and pain,
And the earth is their kingdom, and none may flee,
Ye may take their wages who wear their chain;
I may serve them never; and sleep is free.

No one who has not lived in an Asiatic community can understand the degradation of Asiatic womanhood, or what it costs an Asiatic man to divest himself of the sense of the superiority of sex. But among the Hindus there are castes even in the dominant sex. A

[1] Monier Williams, "Religious Thought and Life in India," p. 514.

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Turkish barber may become a pasha, and a candy-peddler has married a sultan's sister within recent years. The humblest Chinese may reach high rank by scholarship. But the constitution of Hindu society is absolutely the worst in the world. It is fossilized. Man is a god—or a demon, it matters little in Hindu theology—to woman, and the high-caste man occupies much the same position toward the low-caste man. Should we welcome a new religion that put the horse and the dog on the same plane of spiritual and personal rights with ourselves? Will the high-caste Brahman welcome the missionary who tells him that God did not make superior and inferior races, but made of one blood all the nations of men? Did the slave-owner listen eagerly to Garrison, and has the Duke of Argyll yet fallen upon the neck of Henry George and kissed him? Democracy does not win its first converts in palaces and in the ranks of the hereditary aristocracy. No person who has ever heard the bitter cry of Asiatic womanhood will speak flippantly of Christian missionaries.

The introduction of Christian society not only overturns the social order in the mind of an Asiatic, but it shocks his sense of propriety, and hers, too. No Asiatic society can understand reliance upon self-control to preserve virtue. It knows how to keep its men and women apart only by locking the latter into harems and zenanas, veiling them thickly on the street, and perhaps guarding them with eunuchs. The Asiatic is shocked to see men and women meeting as in European society; yet it is necessary to shock this perverted sense of propriety, because there will never be enough virtue to rely on till reliance on bars and veils and eunuchs ceases.

Admiration for Oriental religions is affected by a few Western people—and among them there are women, I am astonished to say—whose knowledge of them is derived from selected maxims from their sacred—and sealed—books. No Asiatic religion can stand an investigation of its results. The Lights of Asia dispel no darkness. Mr. Gandhi is kind enough to suggest that missionaries would accomplish greater results if they would study the native religions and literatures more. This is not the judgment of those who preach Christianity at home or abroad, or who preached it in the days of the Apostles. A man accepts Christianity when he feels that he needs it, and it is not important that a Doctor of Comparative Theology should submit to him the old and new faiths in parallel columns with their respective merits and demerits indicated. In his Westminster Abbey lecture on missions, Prof. Max Müller said:

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"Whilst the work of the parental mission is clear, and its success even in many parts of India undeniable, the results of controversial missions have been discouraging."

But missionaries have done their full share in the investigation of Oriental religions, literatures, institutions, and archæology. The Indian blue-book from which a quotation has already been made bears testimony on this point that is all the better because it is old:

"No body of men pays greater attention to the study of the native languages than the Indian missionaries. . . . The missionaries as a body know the natives of India well. . . . They are the compilers of several dictionaries and grammars; they have written important works on the native classics and systems of philosophy, and they have largely stimulated the great increase of the native literature prepared in recent years by educated native gentlemen."

Mr. Gandhi suggests that missionaries should adopt a vegetarian diet, as it is very painful to a Hindu to think of the slaughter of animals. Eager to help on the cause of Christianity, the New York "Tribune" takes up this suggestion and reminds the missionaries of Paul's familiar maxim regarding meat and wine. But Paul did not say that he would abstain from meat if eating it made him offensive to his brother; he would abstain only if eating meat led his brother to commit sin. To eat meat offered to idols might, by some of his converts from paganism, be regarded as an act of reverence to the idol; rather than encourage that he would go without meat. Quite the reverse is the situation in India. No one who has lived in an Asiatic community, and observed the treatment of women and other domestic animals, whether kept for breeding or industrial purposes, will be imposed on for a moment by the implication that the Hindus abstain from flesh from motives of humanity. People among whom infanticide is common, and the suttee was a national institution till the English suppressed it as the result of missionary agitation,—since which time the treatment of widows has been such as to make the pyre seem merciful,—do not abstain from animal food on account of extreme sensitiveness to suffering. That their aversion to killing cows is pure superstition admits of no question. In his "Asiatic Studies" Sir Alfred C. Lyall, formerly lieutenant-governor of the Punjab, says:

"The worship of animals which by their appearance or habits alarm or startle human beings is so obvious in its primitive reason, and so common throughout India, that it needs no detailed description. . . . The goat has a peculiar trick of shivering at intervals, and this is taken to be the *afflatus*. In the north of India he is turned loose along a disputed border-line, and where

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he shivers there is the mark set up. . . . Every one knows that horned cattle, the wealth of a simple society, are adored throughout India."

Now, if abstaining from meat fosters the belief that there is a god under a cow-hide, it is the duty of missionaries to eat meat three times a day if thereby they may help to convince the dupes of Brahman superstition that beef is diet and not deity. [1]

The missionaries are intensely in earnest in their work, or they would not be doing it, for there is no pecuniary profit in being a missionary, nor is there pleasure, apart from the sense of duty well done, in living in most of the mission stations. They have acquired a good deal of experience, and there have been among them discussions—sharp, not to say acrimonious—regarding the best methods to pursue. They have been, and many of them still are, exposed to some danger and many discomforts. Surely it is not necessary to appeal to them to practise a little self-denial at the table in order to advance the work to which they have devoted their lives. The missionaries are as fine a class of men and women as can be found in church work at home, and those who have gone from American churches deserve the frequent remark of the old Earl of Shaftesbury that American missionaries were the best combinations of piety and common sense he knew. Of English missionaries the "Quarterly Review" of January, 1894, says:

"Men of mark for scholarship, in larger numbers than ever, devote their talents to the labor or the literature of the mission field, and add to its prestige. The sons of English bishops no longer monopolize the richest livings at home, but give themselves to this most trying form of church work abroad; and the sees of Litchfield and Exeter and Hereford, and even the princely throne of Durham, are adding to their dignity by sending from episcopal palace and castle those who might justly expect high honor and advancement here in England. An archbishop's daughter maintained for years single-handed the work of educating Arab boys in Egypt, and daughters of lay peers superintend and cheer by their presence the zenana workers in India. Cambridge dispatched the most learned of its Arabic professors to try and win the Mohammedans of Aden, and the foremost of its cricketers to no less arduous work in China."

While the sole purpose for which missionaries go to India is to give religious instruction, the means they employ to that end are various. They teach the domestic arts, they provide medical and surgical attendance, and their schools and printing-presses have given an intellectual stimulus to the sodden and hopeless communities in which

[1] For the connection between vegetarianism and the doctrine of metempsychosis see "Religious Thought and Life in India," vol. I., p. 315. See also "The Cow Agitation," by the Rajah of Bhinga, "Nineteenth Century," April, 1894.

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they put themselves, which no one who has not observed it can appreciate. It is felt in a marked degree in the communities which remain hostile to the religion of the missionaries. The Oriental churches, the Mohammedans and the pagans, have felt it, and have been obliged in many places to meet this competition of the mind.

Literary art makes a jest of work for mankind, and Borrioboola Gha dries up the fountain of human sympathy. Science stops its laboratory work long enough to divert £1,000 from the rescue work of the Salvation Army. Philosophy paralyzes unselfish impulses by proving that reformatory work can accomplish nothing. Yet Christian missionaries are actually doing what Dickens ridiculed, Huxley distrusts, and Spencer says is impossible. With their hospitals and their schools and their churches they are proving their divine commission as Jesus of Nazareth proved that He was the Messiah: "The blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, and the poor have the gospel preached to them."

FRED. PERRY POWERS.

Those who desire to pursue this subject will find very full bibliographies of missions and mission lands in Bliss's "Encyclopædia of Missions," and Dennis's "Foreign Missions After a Century." Besides the publications cited in this article the following may be mentioned among many others: "Missions and Science," by Thomas Laurie (Boston, 1881); "The Great Value and Success of Foreign Missions Proved by Distinguished Witnesses," by Rev. John Liggins (New York: Baker & Taylor Co.); "Modern Missions and Culture," by Gustav Warneck (Edinburgh: 1883); "Protestant Missions in India, 1706–1871," by Rev. M. A. Sherring (London: Trübner & Co., 1875); "Bengal as a Field of Missions," by M. Wylie (London: 1854); "Conquests of the Cross" (London: 1890); "Short History of Christian Missions," by George Smith (Edinburgh); "History of the Telugu Mission," by Rev. David Downie (Philadelphia: 1893); "Two Happy Years in Ceylon," by C. F. Gordon Cumming (London: 1892); "Linguistic and Oriental Essays," by R. N. Cust (London: 1892). See also an article on Church Missions, in the "Quarterly Review" (January, 1894). The fullest information is to be obtained from the monthly magazines and annual reports of the mission societies.

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THE CENSUS OF SEX, MARRIAGE, AND DIVORCE.

In the Ninth and Tenth Censuses of the United States, taken in 1870 and 1880, an inquiry was made as to the conjugal condition of the people, whether single, married, widowed, or divorced, but the results, for some reason, were not compiled. The statistics of a similar inquiry made in 1890, however, have been recently published. We have, therefore, for the first time in this country, complete data of the conjugal condition of the whole population, properly classified as to sex, color, general nativity, and ages, although similar information concerning European countries has to a large extent formed a part of their census reports, usually under the designation of "civil condition." The term "conjugal condition," as used in the United States census report, seems to be more directly applicable to this class of statistics, and is, on the whole, the more expressive designation. It is unfortunate, to say the least, that similar data were not made available here in 1870 and 1880 for purposes of comparison.

The condition of the whole population—namely, 62,622,250 (32,067,880 males and 30,554,370 females)—was in brief as follows:

Conjugal condition	Aggregate		Males		Females	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Single	37,129,564	59.29	19,945,576	62.20	17,183,988	56.24
Married	22,331,424	35.66	11,205,228	34.94	11,126,196	36.41
Widowed	2,970,052	4.74	815,437	2.54	2,154,615	7.05
Divorced	120,996	0.20	49,101	0.15	71,895	0.24
Unknown	70,214	0.11	52,538	0.17	17,676	0.06

These figures indicate, therefore, that of the entire population in June, 1890, very nearly three-fifths were single, a little more than one-third were married, and not quite one-twentieth were widowed. The divorced constituted but a small fraction of one per cent, while those whose condition was unknown constituted even a smaller proportion. In considering these statistics as applied to the whole population, it should be remembered that children are included, and that for this reason the proportion of single persons is much larger than the proportion of married, widowed, or divorced persons. It should

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be borne in mind, furthermore, that these figures only purport to show the status of the population on June 1, 1890, and give only the number of the single, married, widowed, and divorced on that date. They take no account of the widowed and divorced who have remarried, and therefore are but a partial presentation of these two classes.

Considered as regards sex, it appears that more than three-fifths of the males and more than one-half of the females were single. There were practically about the same number of married males and females, the female proportion being slightly greater. The number of widowed females was very nearly three times as large as that of widowed males, showing that a greater proportion of widowers remarry than of widows. The proportion of divorced females was considerably more than that of divorced males, which also indicates probably that divorced men have remarried to a greater extent than divorced women.

Comparing the results for the United States with similar data derived from the more recent censuses in foreign countries, we have the following table showing by sex the percentage who are either single, married, or widowed. The number of divorced persons was so small as not to be appreciable when considered as a percentage:

Countries	Census	Number in each 100 persons			Number in each 100 males			Number in each 100 females		
		Single	Married	Widowed	Single	Married	Widowed	Single	Married	Widowed
United States	1890	59	36	5	62	35	3	56	37	7
England and Wales	1891	61	34	5	62	35	3	60	33	7
Scotland	1891	65	29	6	67	30	3	63	29	8
Ireland	1891	67	26	7	70	26	4	64	26	10
Canada	1891	63	33	4	65	32	3	61	33	6
Germany	1890	60	34	6	62	35	3	58	33	9
Austria-Hungary	1890	61	34	5	63	34	3	59	33	8
Norway	1891	62	32	6	62	34	4	61	31	8
Sweden	1890	61	33	6	62	34	4	59	33	8
Netherlands	1889	62	33	5	63	33	4	60	33	7
Belgium	1890	62	32	6	64	32	4	61	32	7

The largest proportions of single persons are found in Ireland and Scotland, and the smallest in the United States. Conversely, the largest proportion of married persons is found in the United States, and the smallest in Ireland and Scotland. Ireland also leads in the proportion of widowed persons, the smallest being found in Canada. There are relatively the same proportions of single, married, and

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widowed males in England and Wales and in Germany as in the United States, and very nearly the same in the remaining countries, with the exception of Ireland and Scotland, where the single males are very much in excess, and the married males correspondingly less. The smallest proportion of single females is found in the United States, and is closely followed in this respect by Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Sweden. The largest proportions of single females, as in the case of single males, are found in Ireland and Scotland. In these two countries the proportions of married females are small as compared with the United States. In all the other countries there is but little difference, there being from 31 to 33 married women out of every 100 females. The largest proportions of widowed among the females are found in Ireland and Germany, and the smallest in Canada.

If, however, children be excluded, and the discussion be confined to adults,—that is, to persons 20 years of age and upwards,—a much better basis for comparison will be obtained. On this basis, out of every 100 adults in the United States in 1890, there were 26 single, 65 married, and 9 widowed. Considered as to sex, there were 31 single, 64 married, and 5 widowed out of every 100 males, as compared with 20 single, 67 married, and 13 widowed out of every 100 females. These results are compared with similar data for certain foreign countries, as follows:

Countries	Number in each 100 persons			Number in each 100 males			Number in each 100 females		
	Single	Married	Widowed	Single	Married	Widowed	Single	Married	Widowed
United States	26	65	9	31	64	5	20	67	13
England and Wales	29	61	10	29	65	6	28	58	14
Scotland	34	55	11	35	59	6	35	51	14
Ireland	41	47	12	44	49	7	37	46	17
Austria-Hungary	31	59	10	33	62	5	28	58	14
Belgium	35	55	10	37	56	7	32	55	13

Similar conditions, relatively, as regards the United States and foreign countries, are apparent when adults only are considered, as when the whole population, irrespective of age, is distributed according to condition. For instance, the United States still shows the smallest proportion of single and the largest proportion of married adults, while the reverse is true in Ireland and Scotland, as was also the case regarding the total population. Of widowed females, the

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largest proportion is still in Ireland, or 17 out of every 100 adults, as compared with 13 or 14 in each of the other countries.

Out of every 100 persons in the United States in 1890 there were 51 males and 49 females. Of every 100 single persons 54 were males and 46 females, while among 100 married persons there were practically the same number of males and females. Of every 100 widowed persons, however, there were but 27 males as against 73 females; while out of every 100 divorced persons the males numbered but 41, whereas the females numbered 59. Out of every 100 persons whose condition was not stated, 75 were males, being found principally in the larger cities, chiefly in boarding- and lodging-houses, or in the more western States.

The excess of males over females in the country at large is 1,513,510. The excess of single males, however, is nearly twice as great, or 2,761,588, and this excess is still further increased by 79,032 more married males than married females, besides an excess of 34,862 males whose condition was unknown. This is partly offset by an excess of more than 1,333,000 widowed and divorced females, leaving a net excess of 1,500,000 males.

Of all the foreign countries considered, Canada alone shows an excess of males, the net excess being 87,703, made up from a surplus of 153,941 single and married males, mostly single, which is in part offset by a surplus of 66,238 widowed females.

In England and Wales, Scotland, Norway, and Sweden there is uniformly an excess of females among the single, married, and widowed; in Ireland, Germany, Austria-Hungary, and the Netherlands, the females are in excess, with the exception of the single; in Belgium the males are most numerous among the single and married, while the widowed females exceed the widowed males. In Norway, Sweden, the Netherlands, and Belgium there is a small surplus of divorced women, while in Norway there is a slight excess of males whose condition was unknown.

If the excess of males or females among the whole population of the United States is compared with similar data regarding the adult population, it appears that there is still a very large excess of males, although the number has decreased almost one-fifth; that there are approximately about 600,000 less single males in excess; that the excess of married males has increased almost five times; while the excess of widowed females among the adults is very nearly the same as for the whole population.

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The excess of married males over married females among the adult population in the United States in 1890 is, in round numbers, 377,000, which, as just stated, is very nearly five times the excess of married males when the whole population is considered. This excess, which at first glance seems paradoxical, can be readily accounted for. The great bulk of the immigration which has come to this country in recent years has been composed of adult males (probably three-fifths of the whole number), a large part of whom are married, but who are not, as a rule, joined by their families until they become established in some fixed occupation. They come principally from the ranks of unskilled labor, and for this reason their securing permanent employment and a residence in this country, for a time at least, becomes all the more problematical.

Comparing, briefly, the excess of males or females among the adult population of foreign countries as regards similar conditions among the whole population, it appears that in England and Wales there has been a slight decrease in the total excess of females, wholly among the single and married. In Scotland, on the other hand, the total excess of females has been increased about one-sixth, the excess of single females nearly doubled, the excess of married females decreased about one-sixth, while the excess of widowed females remains the same. In Ireland, also, there has been an increase of about one-half in the total number of females in excess, resulting from a decrease of more than one-third in the excess of single males, which was only partially offset by a decrease of about one-sixth in the excess of married females. In Austria-Hungary, the total excess of females has decreased about one-eighth, due to an increase in the excess of single males and a change from a considerable excess of married females among the whole population to an excess of married males among the adult population. In Belgium the excess of females has nearly doubled, made up almost wholly from a decrease in the excess of single males.

Turning to the United States, and analyzing the results somewhat in detail (giving the proportions in every hundred of each sex), it appears that the States fall naturally into groups presenting the same general conditions. In Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont, there are, practically, 54 single, 42 married, and 4 widowed males, and 49 single, 42 married, and 9 widowed females. These three States have the smallest proportions of single, and the largest proportions of married, in the whole country, while the proportion of widowed is

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fully as large as in any other part of the Union. In Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey, there is a larger proportion of the single, and a smaller proportion of married and widowed, relatively as regards the three States just considered. In these five States as a whole, there are 58 single, 39 married, and 3 widowed males, and 53 single, 38 married, and 9 widowed females. In Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and District of Columbia, the proportion of single males has increased to 61, the married males decreased to 36, while there are still 3 widowed males, as in the more northern States. The females in these same States show the same relative increase and decrease in the proportion as for males, there being 56 single, 36 married, and 8 widowed. The proportion of widowed is increased somewhat by the large proportion of widows in the District of Columbia, or 12 in each 100 females, while in the three remaining States the proportion is only 7. In all the southern States, with the exception of Oklahoma, there are practically 66 single, 32 married, and 2 widowed males, and 60 single, 33 married, and 7 widowed females, showing a much greater proportion of single, and a considerably smaller proportion of married, than in the more northern States. In Oklahoma practically the same conditions prevail as in Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland, except that the proportion of married females is much larger, or 42 per cent, and the proportion of widowed females relatively less, or only 3 per cent. In the North Central States, nearly the same proportions are apparent in Ohio and Indiana as have been indicated for Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland, the proportions being 60 single, 37 married, and 3 widowed for males, and 55 single, 38 married, and 7 widowed for females. In Michigan there are 58 single, 39 married, and 3 widowed males, and 52 single, 42 married, and 6 widowed females; these proportions for males being relatively the same as found in southern New England and in New York and New Jersey. In North Dakota, also, an exceptional condition of affairs is apparent as compared with the other States in that section, the proportions of single being substantially the same as in the southern States, or 67 for males and 58 for females; whereas the proportion of married females in North Dakota is very much in excess of the proportion in the South, or 39 in North Dakota as compared with 33 in the southern States, this increased proportion being offset by a corresponding decrease of widowed females. In the remaining States, namely, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, South Dakota,

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Nebraska, and Kansas, there are approximately among the males 63 single, 35 married, and 2 widowed, and among the females 57 single, 38 married, and 5 widowed, although the proportions vary somewhat when individual States are compared. But these variations are not marked, and the conditions are substantially as above stated.

In the western States and Territories the conditions vary materially and the proportions take on quite a wide range. The smallest proportion of single, and the largest proportion of married, among the males in this section, are found in New Mexico, or 62 single and 35 married males, while the reverse of these conditions is found in Arizona, Wyoming, and Montana, where there are 71 single and only 26 married. Intermediate conditions as regards single and married males are found in the other States in this section of the country, while in each case there are from 2 to 3 widowed males. Among the females in this section the largest proportion of single is found in Utah, where there are 59 in each 100, while in Idaho there are 57. The smallest proportion of single females is found in New Mexico, where they number 52, and also in Colorado, Washington, and Montana, where they number 53. Montana and Washington have the largest proportions of married females, or 43 in each 100, and Utah the smallest proportion, or only 34. The proportion of widowed females in these States ranges from 4 to 7.

In a few States the number of the divorced in each 100 is appreciable, there being one divorced male in New Hampshire, and one divorced female in New Hampshire, Connecticut, Florida, Utah, and Nevada. In a few cases, also, the number of persons whose condition was not stated is appreciable in each 100, particularly as regards males, there being one such out of every 100 males in the District of Columbia, Oregon, California, Washington, Montana, Wyoming, and Nevada, while in the last-named State there was also one female whose condition was not stated out of each 100 females.

There is an excess of single males in every State and Territory, except the District of Columbia, while, on the other hand, the widowed females are uniformly in excess in every State and Territory of the Union. The excess of single males is only slight in the Eastern, Southeastern and North Central States, but increases rapidly in the more westerly States of the North Central division and is especially large in the Western division. Almost the exact reverse of this is true when the excess of widowed females is considered, being proportionately large in the North Atlantic States, decreasing

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somewhat in the North Central States, and being almost overcome in the Western division.

The reasons for these different conditions regarding the two sexes are at once apparent. The steady stream of emigration to the West has naturally taken a considerable proportion of the male population from the older States of the Atlantic divisions, leaving in those two divisions an excess of females in almost every case. This emigration of males to the more westerly States, aided largely by foreign immigration, three-fifths of which is made up of males, has given to the West Central and extreme Western States an undue proportion of males as compared with females. The Northeastern States, which represent the manufacturing centres of the country, have been aided to a certain extent, on the other hand, by the influx of foreign immigrants, but, being largely composed of Canadian and Irish, who still form the bulk of our factory operatives, females as well as males have been attracted. For this reason the excess of females in this section has been increased rather than decreased, as would be the case if the male immigrant had settled in this part of the country in the same proportions as in the Central and Western States.

Classification by general nativity and color is in a measure a classification by station in life, and the results derived from it throw much light upon the conjugal condition of social classes. The native whites of native parentage, taken as a whole, form the highest class in the community, as indicated by education, occupation, and freedom from criminality and pauperism. The native whites of foreign parentage occupy a middle position in this regard, while the foreign whites in the North and the negroes in the South occupy the lowest position in the scale. The ranks of unskilled labor are supplied mainly from these classes. With these broad distinctions in mind, the differences among these classes are extremely significant.

Of every 100 white persons in the United States in 1890, as a whole, it appears that 59 were single, 36 were married, and 5 were widowed. Of the native whites of native parentage there were 60 single, 35 married, and 5 widowed, while among the native whites of foreign parentage there were 77 single, 21 married, and 2 widowed. The proportion of single persons among the native whites of foreign parentage was very much larger than among the native whites of native parentage, while conversely the proportion of married and widowed persons was much smaller. This result is due to the fact that a large proportion of the white persons of native birth but

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foreign parentage thus reckoned consisted of children. Among the foreign white element there were 33 single, 58 married, and 9 widowed. Thus the proportions of single and married were nearly reversed in the native and foreign white elements. The great disproportion between married and single of the foreign white element is due to the fact that our immigrants are principally of mature age and consist largely of married persons. Of the negro element there were 63 single, 32 married, and 5 widowed in each 100. The proportion of the single was much greater, therefore, among the negro element than among the white, the proportion of married correspondingly less, and of widowed somewhat greater.

If the adult population of the United States is subdivided according to color and general nativity, extremely interesting results are reached, as shown by the following table:

General nativity and color	Number in each 100 persons			Number in each 100 males			Number in each 100 females		
	Single	Married	Widowed	Single	Married	Widowed	Single	Married	Widowed
Aggregate	26	65	9	31	64	5	20	67	13
Native whites—native parents	24	67	9	29	66	5	19	68	13
Native whites—foreign parents	42	54	4	49	49	2	35	59	6
Foreign whites	23	67	10	28	66	6	16	68	16
Negroes	21	67	12	25	69	6	16	65	19

From this table it appears that among the native white population of native parentage the married represent 67 out of every 100, or approximately about the same proportion as of married persons among the foreign white population, and also among the negro population, when persons of adult age only are considered. On the same basis, however, a very marked difference is revealed regarding the proportion of married persons among the native white adult population of foreign parentage, there being but a little more than one-half of the whole number married, as against two-thirds in the case of each of the other elements of the population. Approximately the same conditions regarding adult males and females are shown by the table, except for the native whites of foreign parentage, where there are 59 married females in each 100 females as against 49 married males.

The proportion of single, married, widowed, and divorced in each geographical division varies greatly, when considered, without regard to age or sex, for each of the distinctive elements of the population.

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Considering aggregate population, it appears that in the North Atlantic division, which constitutes the principal manufacturing section of the country, a section made up largely of urban population, the single are found in smaller proportion than in any other part of the country, and the married and widowed in larger proportions. Conversely, the South Atlantic and South Central divisions, which are almost purely agricultural and rural, contain the largest proportion of single persons and the smallest proportion of the married. These results are directly opposed to popular belief. It is assumed that the development of urban population diminishes the number of the married. The explanation which naturally suggests itself is that the larger proportion of marriages in the manufacturing sections of the country is due not only to the fact that the native white population married young and in large proportion at all ages, but also to the fact that the foreign whites, who have settled in large numbers in the North Atlantic division, were either married or of a marriageable age at the time of their immigration. Regarding the proportion of single and married among the native whites of native parentage, it appears for the North Atlantic division that the proportion of single is even less than among the aggregate population, and the proportion of married and widowed greater. This seems to indicate that in the densely settled parts, where the urban element is greatest, the native whites of native parentage marry more freely than in the rural parts. Considering the condition of the native whites of foreign parentage, the largest proportions of married and widowed are found in the South Atlantic and South Central divisions. In the three other divisions, where this element is much more numerous, the proportions of the married and widowed differ but slightly. Concerning the foreign whites it appears that the largest proportion of the married is found in the North Central division, and the smallest in the Western division. This difference doubtless arises from the character of the immigration to these two sections; that to the North Central division consisting largely of Germans and Scandinavians, and that to the Western division largely of English, Scotch, and Irish. Regarding persons of negro descent there is little difference between the South Atlantic and South Central divisions in the proportion of single and married. In the north and west the negro element is too small to render any conclusions of value.

The status of the population living under thoroughly urban conditions can be contrasted with that of the population as a whole, the number of the single, married, and widowed being also shown in

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1890 regarding the inhabitants of the principal cities of the United States. The 50 principal cities, taken collectively, have a population of 11,298,148, and constitute 18 per cent of the total population.

The following table shows, for these cities taken collectively, the proportion of single, married, and widowed males and females compared with similar proportions for the country at large:

Conjugal condition	Percentage of each class in the 50 principal cities		Percentage of each class in the country at large	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
Single	61	55	62	56
Married	36	36	35	37
Widowed	3	9	3	7

The differences in the proportion of single, married, and widowed are due to the difference in the constitution of the population of the cities and of the country at large as regards native and foreign elements, the foreign element both of birth and of parentage being much greater proportionally in the cities than in the country at large.

Considering the results in a general way for those cities in the United States having a population of more than 200,000 in 1890, as also for some of the principal foreign cities, we find that of all the cities in the United States, San Francisco, Pittsburg, Milwaukee, and St. Louis have the largest proportions of single persons among the total population, and Philadelphia, Brooklyn, and Cleveland the smallest proportions. The range is not wide, however; the largest proportion being 61 and the smallest 57. Of the foreign cities considered, much the largest proportion of single is found in Edinburgh. In Glasgow and Vienna there is also a larger proportion of single than in any of the larger cities in this country, while the proportions in the other foreign cities are fully as large as in any city in this country. The largest proportion of married is found in Cleveland, and the smallest in New Orleans, of all the cities considered for this country, while of the foreign cities Berlin has the largest proportion, and Edinburgh the smallest. The proportion of married is as a whole larger in the cities of this country than those abroad. Of the European cities Prague has 8 widowed, while all the other foreign cities have either 6 or 7 widowed in each 100 persons. In this country the number of widowed in each 100 varies from 4 in Chicago and Pittsburg to 8 and 9 in Washington and New Orleans. Among persons of adult age by far the largest proportion of single in

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the cities of this country is found in San Francisco, which also has the smallest proportion of married among the adults, or 42 single and 49 married. This is due, of course, to the presence of the Chinese in that city, three-fourths of whom are single males. Edinburgh presents very nearly the same proportions of single and married adults, or 40 single and 48 married. Next to San Francisco in this country, Boston has the largest proportion of single adults and the smallest of married adults. Practically the same conditions exist in London as in St. Louis, and substantially the same in Liverpool as in Baltimore. There is a very large proportion of widowed persons in New Orleans as compared with the other American cities, while in the European cities the proportion varies from 10 to 12. In Berlin, Vienna, and Prague the conditions of the people were not classified as to age. The proportion of single male adults is generally larger in each city considered in this country than in the United States as a whole, while on the other hand the proportion of married male adults is generally smaller. This is also the fact regarding single and married females of adult age. The large proportion of widowed in each 100 adult females is noticeable in all the cities considered, both in this country and abroad. This is especially the case in New Orleans, where there are 24 widowed females out of every 100 adult women, and in Washington and Dublin, where there are 19 widowed females out of every 100.

The whole number of divorced persons in the United States in 1890 was 120,996 out of a total population of 62,622,250, the divorced constituting, therefore, but one-fifth of one per cent of the whole population. Eliminating persons less than 20 years of age, there were 119,854 divorced persons of adult age, or 0.35 per cent of the whole number of adults. The divorced males of adult age in 1890 constituted 0.28 per cent of all the adult males, and the divorced females of adult age 0.44 per cent of all the adult females. Owing to the differences in the composition of the several elements of the population, that is, the large proportion of children and a correspondingly less proportion of grown people among the native whites of foreign parentage, and the small proportion of children and undue proportion of grown people among the foreign whites, a fairer measure of the extent to which divorce is prevalent is afforded by the following table, which gives, by geographical divisions, the proportion of divorced persons with reference to the number of married persons:

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Geographical divisions	Aggregate population	Native whites —native parents	Native whites —foreign parents	Foreign whites	Persons of negro descent
United States.....	0.54	0.61	0.50	0.34	0.67
North Atlantic.....	0.38	0.54	0.30	0.15	0.45
South Atlantic.....	0.31	0.28	0.33	0.22	0.38
North Central.....	0.68	0.82	0.58	0.43	1.36
South Central.....	0.55	0.41	0.53	0.43	0.85
Western.....	1.13	1.29	1.21	0.92	2.45

For the United States as a whole, it is seen that there was one divorced person to 185 married. This proportion was smallest in the two Atlantic divisions, and largest in the Western division. The proportion in the North Central division was decidedly greater than in the South Central division. Divorce was more common among the native whites of native parentage than among the total population; the proportion to the number of married people being for the United States 0.61 per cent; least in the South Atlantic and South Central divisions; and greatest in the Western division. The native whites of foreign parentage show a smaller proportion of divorced; that for the United States being but 0.50 per cent, as against 0.61 per cent among the native whites of native parentage. In the North Atlantic division this proportion was only 0.30 per cent; in the North Central division but 0.58 per cent; and in the Western division 1.21 per cent. In the South the number was so small as to render the results of little importance. The foreign whites show a still smaller proportion of divorced; that for the United States being but little more than half the proportion of the native whites of native parentage.

Among the negro population the divorced were more prevalent than among any other classes. For the whole United States the proportion to the whole number of married was 0.67 per cent. In the South Atlantic division it was 0.38 per cent, and in the South Central division 0.85 per cent. In other sections the negro element is not of sufficient importance numerically to render the results of value.

The bare statistics for a single census period offer but little opportunity for interesting discussion. When the final tabulations are completed, very valuable conclusions can be reached as to the relative proportions of the single, married, and widowed in each of the principal callings of life, especially as these data will be separately presented for both the native and foreign white and colored elements of our population.

CARROLL D. WRIGHT.

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HOW BALTIMORE BANISHED TRAMPS AND HELPED THE IDLE.

An American dictionary of sociology, if published a few years ago, would probably contain but brief notice of the subject of the "unemployed." To-day, if we are to judge from the utterances of a certain class of economists, or the statements of newspaper and magazine writers, we must believe in the existence of a genuine social problem. Mrs. Lowell is right in saying that unemployment in this country is as yet an acute disease, not a chronic complaint of the body social. Her conclusion is interesting and hopeful. But we would like to know the status of the malady, as well as of the patients. How can sufferers from the disease, even in its acute form, best be relieved?

In the autumn of last year a few Baltimore gentlemen met together and discussed the probable situation during the coming winter. All were convinced that there was likely to be an extraordinary tax upon existing relief agencies; some felt sure that an emergency would arise. During the previous two years Baltimore had grown into exceptional favor with members of the wandering fraternity. In 1892, 25,132 people received lodgings in the police station-houses of the city. In 1893, this number increased to 39,976. There had been no change in accommodations. Rooms without furniture, with bare, hard floors, whitewashed walls, and simple heating equipment, represented the only provisions for shelter.

Baltimore has always been a city more or less favored by that modern knight-errant, the tramp. Its climate is not too severe, and its people have, for a century, enjoyed the reputation of being more than ordinarily hospitable. Certain charitable eccentricities—such as soup-houses, night shelters, and depots for the free distribution of articles of subsistence, in which kind-hearted but unreflecting people indulged during the last two or three years—added greatly to its popularity as a winter resort. The opening of a municipal lodging-house in Washington also had an influence in determining the choice in favor of Baltimore. Prevailing economic and industrial conditions likewise favored the presumption that vast numbers of residents

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would be out of employment, and that the usual contingent of travelling "out-of-works" would be largely reinforced.

Just at this time a very happy incident occurred. After the annual public meeting of the Charity Organization Society, an influential member of the board of police commissioners addressed a letter to President Gilman of Johns Hopkins University, expressing the willingness of himself and colleagues to close the station-houses to male lodgers as soon as adequate provision was made elsewhere.

This event furnished a favorable opportunity for action. A conference was at once called, in which the seven leading charitable organizations and the five largest business associations participated. Membership was subsequently enlarged to include gentlemen not connected with any of the above-mentioned societies, but whose interest and special knowledge made their co-operation desirable. Several meetings were held, and many matters discussed. Differences of opinion occurred as to the proper disposition of funds likely to be raised, a conservative element favoring the strengthening of existing agencies alone. Finally, at the eighth meeting, it was decided to resolve the conference into a Central Relief Committee, typifying the co-operation of business interests with philanthropy. It was meant to be a purely emergency organization. Its complete membership numbered thirty-six, and the President of the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association was chairman. The Executive Committee—upon whom the whole of the subsequent work, except the collection of funds, devolved—was constituted from skilled charitable workers, professional sociologists, and a moiety of business men.

The manifesto on winter relief which followed the organization of the Central Relief Committee set forth succinctly a programme of action.

1. Citizens were urged to contribute liberally to established charitable agencies.

2. Donations were asked to a special fund for opening a new institution to shelter the homeless, where the work test would be rigidly applied. A "Friendly Inn," capable of accommodating 150 persons nightly, was already in existence, but its housing facilities were not thought to be sufficient. Its managing board expressed the willingness to co-operate in securing a uniform work test by abolishing the system of paid meals and lodgings. The extension of facilities would enable all demands to be met, and the people were promised a diminution in the number of vagrants and tramps.

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3. It was conditionally stated that, if the city would buy the stone for macadamizing roads in the annex, the Central Relief Committee would open stone-yards in order to provide work for unemployed residents with families to support.

4. A salutary warning was issued against the dangers of indiscriminate almsgiving.

Soon after the appearance of these "standards," subscriptions began to flow in, and it was decided to proceed at once with the equipment of a "Wayfarers' Lodge." A building formerly used as a pencil-factory was selected, and fitted up at an expense of a little under $3,000. This amount did not include rentals, salaries, and running expenses, which, for the season, were estimated at $2,500. The institution was large enough to accommodate 125 persons nightly, and its rules provided for a three days' limit to consecutive shelter, unless under special circumstances. Wood-sawing and -splitting was offered as the only means of payment for meals and lodgings. Certain compulsory features, such as a hot bath every evening under the supervision of an attendant, with a liberal use of carbolic soap, and nightly disinfection of wearing-apparel, were regularly exacted. Clean night-gowns and slippers were also furnished.

The Wayfarers' Lodge was opened on January 15, 1894, within three weeks from the public meeting at the Board of Trade. It was not able to receive lodgers to its full capacity until about ten days later. The police at once commenced sending applicants to the Friendly Inn and Wayfarers' Lodge, nightly, until accommodations were exhausted. The surplus only was permitted to stay in the station-houses.

On the first day of January of the present year, 320 males lodged in the police stations. The number fluctuated between 200 and 300 nightly, until, on the 16th, it passed, for the first time, below the 200 limit. By January 28 there had been a decrease to 80, and on February 3 the police stations were finally closed to male lodgers. Notwithstanding this fact there have always been unoccupied beds in the Inn and the Lodge.

The record of lodgings at the Wayfarers' Lodge from January 15 to April 1 shows that the nightly average was 61. At the Friendly Inn the average for this period was 98. As a rule, the men performed the tasks they were set to accomplish. Returns from the six weeks' operation of the Wayfarers' Lodge show that less than four per cent have been ejected for refusal to work, disorderly con-

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duct, profanity, or pilfering. The register of the new institution contains other information of considerable sociological interest. Of the patrons during the first twenty days of February, 59 per cent were of American nationality, 17 per cent were Irish, 9 per cent Germans, 6½ per cent English, and 3¼ per cent Scotch. The nativity of the remainder included seventeen foreign countries, among which Sweden, Austria, and Poland alone approached 1 per cent. In the matter of age, 9¼ per cent were under 21 years of age, 45¼ per cent between 20 and 30; 28 per cent between 30 and 40; 13 per cent between 50 and 60, and the remainder 60 years and over. More than eight-tenths of the whole number were in the flower of youth or manhood; only an insignificant quota had entered their fifth decade.

As regards occupations, 40¾ per cent professed skilled trades; 8 per cent were firemen, miners, and sailors; 2¼ per cent were bookkeepers, clerks, telegraph-operators, bartenders, and waiters; 2 per cent were farmers, gardeners, drivers, or teamsters; and 47 per cent classed themselves as general laborers.

Comparison of the statistics of lodgings in the police stations before and after the inauguration of sound practice in dealing with the homeless poor reveals a fact of weighty significance. It shows that such methods, with the hearty backing of the police, are a sure and effective means of ridding a community in an unusual degree of tramps and vagrants. The number of applicants for shelter began to diminish from the date of the opening of the Wayfarers' Lodge. This decline was not steady; but variations were purely spasmodic, and due, for the most part, to such exceptional circumstances as the exhaustion of relief funds in neighboring cities, where largess had been free from the inconvenience of too rigid inquiry. Baltimore has been made a stopping-place during these periods of wholesale exodus. The average number of lodgings furnished nightly during the first fifteen days of January in the police stations and in the Friendly Inn, where the work test had not yet been exclusively incorporated, was, together, 334. For the next month the figures for police stations and the Inn and Lodge declined to 233. From February 15 to April 1, lodgings in police stations being no longer furnished, an astonishing reduction to 171 nightly took place. These statistics prove unquestionably that the number of applicants for shelter was marvellously reduced from the time the work test began. There is further and equally conclusive testimony to show that tramps and vagrants have

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mostly left the city. The district agencies of the Charity Organization Society, which in previous winters have been besieged for help, unanimously report that the demand from this class of people has been reduced to practically nothing. The number of requests for transportation from the city was notably diminished. Finally, almost without exception, citizens testify that street-begging and personal importunities at their homes have marvellously fallen off. The police assert that the class of people referred to are now scarce among Baltimore's floating population.

The differentiation which the Central Relief Committee adopted as a prelude to their activities has been of value from a threefold point of view. In the first place, the work test has wrought a separation of the worthy from the parasite, and given to the former an opportunity of earning the means of subsistence during his search for employment, in a manner perfectly compatible with self-respect.

Secondly, its policy has saved him from the vile nocturnal associations of police stations, where sleeping behind bars, and compulsory mixing with the useless and the low, furnish formidable dangers to social relapse.

Thirdly, it has removed an unjust and harmful tax upon the unreflecting philanthropy of charitably-disposed citizens.

The Central Relief Committee, in its provision for the homeless poor, has adhered closely to scientific principle. Sociologically considered, its actions have been unexceptionable. It is gratifying to see that practical results have been quite satisfactory.

Dealing with the homeless poor represents simply one side of the activities of the Central Relief Committee. Furnishing work to unemployed residents is the other. The difficulties at the outset in executing the latter task seemed, indeed, formidable. Funds could not be solicited until some definite scheme was formulated. Several projects were discussed. It was well understood that an inopportune provision of work by the municipality promised dangers from a double point of view. Economically it would be costly because of inefficiency in workers, difficulty of supervision, and the possibility of having to pay too high wages. Organization under a municipal foreman, if the experience of other cities was any criterion to go by, might be accompanied by political inconvenience. It was suspected that Tammany's liberality in New York was not actuated solely by disinterested sympathy.

The park commissioners were only able to give employment to a

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portion of its regular force, whom they retained in making a few improvements. Street cleaning or any similar work that the municipality might offer did not elicit particular favor, because it was felt that a great deal of money would be thrown away, and that a premium would be offered to relaxation of effort on the part of an important municipal service. The committee were anxious to find some form of relief which could be conducted upon economic principles, where it would be possible to impose payment by the task instead of by time; where the major portion of the outlay would be for labor, and where a salable product would result. They chose stone-breaking.

Originally two stone-yards were opened, but later on two more were added. All were situated either within, or a short distance beyond, the city limits. Two of them immediately adjoined quarries, the other two represent supplies of stone acquired by the committee. The piece system of payment was inaugurated. Fifty cents was the price fixed for a unit of work which could be accomplished by a man of ordinary strength in about four hours. One dollar was the price given for double the task. Single work was allowed in cases where the individual had a wife and one child or dependent. Double work was offered an applicant having four or more persons dependent upon his earnings. The maximum sum which any man might receive was one dollar a day. Work was so distributed that, as far as possible, each candidate was given two days weekly, and the more necessitous three and even four. On the average eight hours were consumed in performing a double task. The more skilled finished sometimes in six and a half or seven hours, while occasionally the unhandy or the loitering would consume nine or ten hours. The task was so adjusted that sufficient time was left in which to seek other and more remunerative jobs.

At the commencement, the distribution of tickets was placed in the hands of the three leading charitable institutions maintaining employment bureaus. The crush for them was so great that time did not permit of the investigation of the worthiness of claimants. A few men of bad habits, and some in fair circumstances, having been inadvertently admitted, the special committee having the stone-yards in charge, in order to be perfectly just, and to secure themselves against imposition and the enterprise from discredit, decided to take charge of the issue of tickets. A force of investigators was organized, and every applicant was visited at his own home, and his circumstances ascertained before labor certificates were furnished. In

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that way relief was distributed where it was most needed, and only perfectly worthy persons could get it.

The first stone-yard was opened on January 22. From that date until April 5, when the work ceased, 6,969 labor tickets were redeemed. About 75 per cent of these tickets were for double work. Nine thousand dollars was subscribed for stone-yard purposes, and $1,000 was borrowed by hypothecating a part of the product. A little over two-thirds of these sums was spent for labor, and the rest for unbroken stone, plant, and miscellaneous objects. About 700 tons of raw material was donated; the rest was purchased at a fair price. About 7,000 tons of stone were broken. Receipts from the crushed stone, when all has been sold (and there will be little difficulty in accomplishing the sale, because of its suitability for macadamizing and ballasting), will be about $6,650. The period comprised 70 working days, 15 of which were so unfavorable that raw material could not be supplied from the quarries. Effective relief will have actually cost $3,350, which is nearly 33 per cent of the amount subscribed and borrowed. It is not to be expected that the value of the product in any case could equal the total sum spent, for the reason that labor (which represents two-thirds of the cost) was necessarily inefficient. At the beginning a fair proportion were men who had rarely held anything heavier than a penholder in their hands. Little by little this contingent diminished in numbers, but at no time was there an appreciably large element which had been used to stone-breaking before, though the large majority were general laborers, and a respectable minority mechanics. As regards nationality, an overwhelming majority were foreign-born. Comparatively little stone-breaking is now done by hand. The steam crusher is usually employed, and it has so cheapened the cost of production that hand-broken stone must come into the market on disadvantageous competitive terms.

Summarizing the results accomplished in connection with the relief of unemployed residents with families to support, we find:—

1. That industrial work was provided on economic principles. The actual cost was about 33 per cent of the funds raised. The remainder could have been turned over to continue the work, but it was needed to indemnify the Friendly Inn for the loss sustained in abolishing "paid meals and lodgings," and for the future work of the new Wayfarers' Lodge.

2. Market rates were observed both in the purchase of raw ma-

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terials and the sale of broken stone, so that no violence was done to economic laws.

3. There could be no "sojering." Inattention and neglect were at the expense of the worker, not to the detriment of the work-provider.

4. Complete harmony and co-operation existed with established charitable agencies, and the latter were able to test chronic subjects for relief by securing their admission to the stone-yards. There is no violation of confidence in saying that a large number of these found it convenient to come late in the day, when there was little prospect of finding an idle hammer.

Relief experiments in Baltimore during the past winter, both in connection with the homeless poor and the resident unemployed, have accomplished remarkable results at a comparatively slight cost. As regards provision of work it must be acknowledged that the existence of quarries in the neighborhood of the city, and an open winter, were two favorable conditions. Still there is no doubt that, after the experience gained, the experiment could be repeated upon a larger scale and with even greater success. An essential feature, however, would be the purchase of a liberal supply of stone before the winter set in.

No new sociological principles may be derived from Baltimore's experiments, but highly satisfactory sociological results have been accomplished. The potency of the work test in relieving a community of most of its vagrants and tramps has been once more established, and the feasibility of providing industrial work for relief purposes on a fairly large scale has been successfully demonstrated. Let us hope that these may soon avail against repetition of ill-advised schemes emanating from unwise philanthropists, interested politicians, or socialistic dreamers.

E. R. L. GOULD.

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THE ANTARCTIC'S CHALLENGE TO THE EXPLORER.

WITHIN the last few years a swarm of explorers, chief among them Peary, have braved the terrors of the North and laid bare many of the secrets of the Arctic regions; but the vast extent of territory lying about the South Pole has not challenged the attention of recent voyagers nor spurred on discoverers. Indeed, since the existence of land within the Antarctic Circle was first demonstrated, more than a century ago, scarce a dozen attempts have been made to explore its mysteries. The last voyage of importance was that of the British steamship "Challenger" in 1874, and the results of that expedition were confined chiefly to scientific observations as to tides, ocean currents, and the forms of life found in the depths of the Southern Sea. No new land was reached, and the circle of 66½ degrees was barely crossed. South Polar exploration has been practically suspended for half a century.

This apathy is due to several causes, chief among which are the physical obstacles to navigation. The forbidding character of the coast, which is reputed to be fronted with a gigantic wall of ice from two hundred to three hundred feet high, termed the "Great Southern Ice Barrier"; violent winds of cyclonic strength, prevalent in those regions; icebergs of tremendous size; the dangers of the pack; the angry waste of waters which separates a ship by hundreds of miles from the nearest port of shelter,—cause this quarter of the globe to be greatly feared by navigators. Captain Cook, the great circumpolar navigator of the eighteenth century, who attained the latitude of 71° 15′ south, in longitude 106° 54′ west,[1] on January 30, 1774, thus graphically sets forth the natural difficulties of a South Polar expedition, although it may be remarked that his predictions are hardly justified, and several have since exceeded his southing by many degrees:

"The risk one runs in exploring a coast in these unknown and icy seas is so very great that I can be bold enough to say that no man will ever venture farther than I have done, and that the lands which may lie to the south will never be explored. Thick fogs, snow-storms, intense cold, and every other thing that

[1] The meridian of Greenwich is used in this paper.

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can render navigation dangerous, must be encountered, and these difficulties are greatly heightened by the inexpressibly horrid aspect of the country,—a country doomed by nature never once to feel the warmth of the sun's rays, but to lie buried in everlasting snow and ice. The ports which may be on the coast are, in a manner, wholly filled up with frozen snow of vast thickness; but if any one should be so far open as to invite a ship into it, she would run a risk of being fixed there for ever, or of coming out in an ice island. The islands and floats on the coast, the great falls from the ice cliffs in the port, or a heavy snow-storm attended with a sharp frost, would be equally fatal."

But the inaccessibility of the South Polar regions to the ordinarily equipped explorer is not the only reason why they have not been explored. There has never been the same incentive to investigate their mysteries which exists in regard to the opposite pole. For several centuries it was believed that a northwest passage would supply a marine highway from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and to find that highway many expeditions set forth. Fruitless though that search was, those engaged in it returned to tell of the northern wonders they had seen, and much popular interest was aroused, which resulted in new expeditions with the avowed object of exploring the "land of the midnight sun." The whale and seal fishery, principally in Baffin's Bay, enlisted the sympathies of commerce; and the Danish government, which was from the first identified with these pursuits, yearly reaped a harvest of thousands of dollars from oil, whalebone, and seal-skins. The Eskimo tribes were an object of deep interest, and well-meaning missionaries established settlements and erected little churches on the Greenland coast which still carry on the work of their founders. The abundance of Arctic fauna and flora gave color and warmth and life to what would otherwise be a waste of snow and ice. Because there was a sentimental notion of glory in reaching the pole, adventurers flocked northward. A large library of Arctic literature has appeared as a result of this enthusiasm, and to-day there is hardly a schoolboy of fifteen who does not know at least as much of the Arctic regions as he does of Australia.

The South Polar regions have lacked all these things. At any rate, no one ever saw a native human being within the Antarctic Circle; we have no certain testimony that the right whale, so-called, inhabits its waters; the known fauna is confined to other kinds of whales, seals, porpoises, and a few birds, and the flora is entirely wanting; in short, we are led to believe, from what is known, that the land of the South Pole is indeed an icy desert, a collection of volcanic islands capped with never-melting snow, whose ice-bound and inhospitable shores are washed by mad seas from season's beginning to

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season's end. Yet there is an estimated area of some 8,000,000 square miles of land, water, and ice—one-sixth of the entire surface of the globe—surrounding the South Pole, a territory untrodden and unexplored by man! Shall it remain so?

Let us see what is really known concerning this vast area. With the exception of a small portion of Graham Land, which is 60 degrees west of the Greenwich meridian, and almost due south from Cape Horn, the southern lands lie wholly within the Antarctic Circle. Apparently the bulk of the land is in the eastern hemisphere. It is an irregularly shaped mass, somewhat like a deformed human foot with an excessively large ankle. This outline, it must be understood, is to a degree hypothetical, and only a comparatively small portion of it has been actually verified by navigators. Deep-sea soundings have been relied upon to furnish its unverified parts.

In chronological order, Captain Cook was one of the first navigators in the South Polar Sea. In 1773–75 he sailed completely around the Pole, and by so doing exploded many theories previously held by scientific men. Only once did he venture within the Antarctic Circle. After his voyage, nothing was done until, in 1820–21, Bellingshausen, of the Russian navy, made a partial circuit of the ice-bound continent. He reached his extreme southing of 70 degrees a degree west of the meridian. The ice barrier checked his progress. Bellingshausen's voyage was the signal for the forthcoming of the explorers, the last of whom was Moore in 1845, and to these we are largely indebted for what knowledge we possess of the Antarctic conditions. Weddell, in 1823, boldly pushed his way through pack ice for hundreds of miles, and in February of that year attained a latitude of 74° 15′ south in longitude 35° west. Morrell followed in the same year, probably reaching the 70th parallel at 54 degrees west. Biscoe, in 1831, followed three years later by Kemp, made minor discoveries; the latter giving to the hazy outline sighted by him at 66½° south, 60° east, the name of Kemp Land. Balleny, in 1839, reached a point several degrees southwest of Cape North, off what was later named Victoria Land. The next year a veritable fever for Antarctic exploration took the scientific world, and three governments shared in the excitement. Lieutenant Wilkes, of the United States navy, marked out a coast line from 100 to 160 degrees east longitude, which goes under the general title of Wilkes Land, though this is for some reason ignored on the English charts. Simultaneously a French expedition was fitted out under Lieut. Dumont d'Urville, who christened por-

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tions of Wilkes' general discovery, Adelie and Clarie Lands. The major portions of these lands lie without the Antarctic Circle.

But the most valuable in point of results of all the Antarctic expeditions before or since was that under the command of Sir James Ross, 1839–43. This expedition, like those of America and France, was a governmental enterprise, and two stout ships, the "Erebus" and "Terror," were commissioned by the British Admiralty. Ross' plan of action was to visit the Antarctic in the summer months, and with the approach of the months of darkness and cold to retreat to the Falklands, Cape Town, or elsewhere, until the returning sun allowed a fresh sally to the south. The route chosen was near the 170th east meridian, and success attended it, for on the 11th of January, 1841, the outlying point of Victoria Land hove in view, and Ross was enabled to follow the ice-bound coast for upward of 500 miles, and to attain the most southerly latitude ever reached. The land appeared to be very high and mountainous, and covered with snow, except here and there a lofty peak, rising above its fellows, showed black in the clear atmosphere. On the next day he took possession of an islet lying off the mainland, and christened it "Possession Island." This islet was occupied by vast numbers of penguins, and, according to a member of the expedition, "would afford valuable cargoes of guano for whole fleets of ships for years to come."

Through a sea clear of ice the barrier was traced until, on the morning of January 28, the sailors were startled to behold a conical-shaped mountain not far inland, from the summit of which rolled a column of thick, murky smoke, lighted up at intervals by flashes of red flame. It was a volcano in an active state of eruption, a sight of infinite grandeur. Although in the midst of that icy waste, the interior heat was sufficient to melt the snow and ice from its sides. The altitude of the mountain was 12,400 feet above the sea. The name Erebus, that of Captain Ross' own ship, was bestowed upon it. Separated by a ridge of land to the east, another tall peak, evidently an extinct volcano, rose to a height of 10,900 feet. This sister mountain was christened Mount Terror. Between them, in latitude 77° 31′ south, longitude 167° 1′ east, lay a commodious bay, but choked with ice. A small island on the starboard bow received the name of Beaufort Island. The course being resumed, the next day both land and ice disappeared from view. Numerous white petrel, gulls, lestris and other sea-birds hovered about the ships. Bottom was found in 410 fathoms, and the lead, in sounding, sank at least two feet

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in soft green mud. Whales were seen, and seals were observed on floating cakes of ice. On the 4th of February, in latitude 78° 15′ south, with the barrier again at hand, a sounding was taken at 260 fathoms, green mud and clay composing the ocean bed. At this point the "Erebus" and "Terror" were put about, and the first voyage was ended. In November of the same year the ships were again turned to the south from Tasmania. Unfortunately a pack of ice, whose breadth was estimated at 800 miles, and from which the ships did not emerge for forty-six days, thwarted the plans of Captain Ross, although a southing of 78° 7′ was reached before the retreat. The third voyage was also unsatisfactory, the course of Weddell being attempted. Therefore the first voyage must furnish us with the results of all three.

One of the most important facts reported is that all the islands were simply rocky uprisings from the depths of the sea, apparently of volcanic origin, and they, in common with the larger mainland, were clothed with snow and ice. No land animals or vegetation of any kind—not even the simplest forms of that lowest of cryptogamic growths, moss—were seen. Ross, however, speaks of the silicious animalculæ, the Diatomaceæ, which are so numerous that their chalk-like shells give a milky appearance to the shore waters. The soundings taken showed that there is a perceptible rising of the ocean bed as the Antarctic continent is approached. Unlike the northern conditions, the ice is not landlocked, and therefore the danger of being crushed by ice is partly eliminated in a voyage to the south. Meteorological observations point to an excessively heavy snowfall and very low atmospheric pressure. The temperature within the Antarctic Circle rarely rose above the freezing-point, even on the sunniest days in the height of summer. These reports, together with those of hurricanes and giant icebergs, present a cold picture of desolation, of an uninhabitable, barren land, perpetually covered with an immense cap of ice,—a region wherein nothing lives, and given up to the shrieking of ice-charged winds across the lonely plateaus. But is this the true picture?

Only three explorers, Cook, Weddell, and Ross, passed beyond the 70th parallel of south latitude, and but two men, Ross and D'Urville, ever set foot on land within the Antarctic Circle. Their curiosity did not urge them to venture into the interior. Their fields of observation were so restricted that they could but note the mountainous highlands of altitudes ranging from 7,000 to 12,000 feet.

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Consequently what may or may not be the conditions beyond the lines put down on our charts for the border of a vast continent are matters of conjecture. It is not impossible that a thermal belt or area may exist where the temperature is several degrees higher than elsewhere, and where vegetable life finds sustenance in turn to nourish a higher order of creation. Whale Sound in the north is such an oasis, the duplicate of which may be found in the south. Within this conservatory of nature there may be strange forms of life undreamed of by the biologists of to-day. If we accept the theory advanced regarding the population of the South Sea islands,—that of accidental drift rather than changed geological conditions,—it is reasonable to suppose that human beings have been carried to Antarctic lands, and, once there, have by a universal law adapted themselves to their new situation and found some means of overcoming the natural difficulties of existence in that rigorous climate. While I scarcely expect to find a strange and isolated tribe of men on the new continent, yet their existence is by no means improbable. For aught we know, the Antarctic may possess valuable minerals and precious stones. The fossils obtained on Cape Seymour, belonging to the Tertiary age, may furnish slight encouragement in the direction of a previous age of heat and life. As to practical utility along certain lines, the most unchecked imagination cannot hope that the southern continent will ever become what Greenland is fast becoming,—a possible pleasure-resort. Fifty years ago the idea of any man taking a party of pleasure-seekers on a summer's jaunt to the north, as I shall do in June, would have been laughed at. And I do not predict any such wonderful things for the south.

The benefits to pure science in a campaign over the southern continent, carefully planned and carried out, are inestimable. Not only would many entirely new branches of science in all probability be opened up, but the standard sciences would be enriched. A knowledge of the meteorological conditions in the Antarctic is needed to solve the weather problem of the world. The theory of the earth's magnetism awaits confirmation or rejection according as the facts of the south may be found in this regard. Geography, geology, botany, biology,—not a science is there on which we cannot obtain new light.

Readers of THE FORUM are doubtless aware that I am now fitting out an expedition to winter within the Antarctic. In brief, my plan of action is this: Securing a stout steam whaler of some 300 tons burden, I shall set sail from New York about October 1, 1895, and pro-

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ceed directly to a South American port, where a supply of beef and tallow will be procured, to be manufactured into that standard food of explorers in frozen climes—pemmican. The ship will be provisioned for three years. Our course will be laid for the Falkland Islands, where the coal-bunkers will be refilled. From the Falklands we will steam down to that land, south of Cape Horn, which bears the name of Louis Philippe, which is an eastern division of Graham Land. On an island of this coast a lifeboat will be placed, in order to furnish an avenue of retreat in case of disaster. Thence the course of the vessel will depend upon the openings presented by the drifting fields of ice. If not favored, as some navigators have been, by a clear pathway, the pack will be skirted until a promising opening is found. At the farthest attainable point to the south where there is land and a safe anchorage, headquarters will be established ashore. A structure capable of enduring the strongest gales, and so built as to afford an adequate protection from the cold, will be erected. Smaller buildings for scientific purposes will be put up, and observations will commence upon landing. At the same time parties will set out to explore and survey the country in the immediate neighborhood. Soon the approach of the long Polar night will put a stop to labors in the field. During the period of darkness the time will be taken up with exercising the Eskimo dogs, perfecting equipment, and getting things ready for the grand effort of the next year.

With the dawn of a new season, a select party of three or four men will set out inland on the main journey south. If practicable, an advance station will have been established beforehand, some hundred miles beyond headquarters, so as to afford a good start. This party will have instructions to return when a certain time has elapsed, or when two-thirds of the provisions carried on the sledges are exhausted. A full set of scientific instruments will be taken along, and the most complete and accurate observations will be made at various points along the route. Barring unforeseen accidents, I see no reason why a well-equipped sledging party should not be able to reach the geographical Pole, starting from the 80th parallel. No special effort, however, will be made to that end, which should be at present one of the least-desired objects of an expedition toward the South Pole. Those left at home will devote themselves to a more thorough exploration of the adjacent country; and, as certain observations, to be of value, must be taken at frequent intervals throughout the twenty-four hours of the day, there will be no lack of

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employment. We shall at least endeavor to avoid that affliction of nearly all explorers—inaccuracy. Upon the return of the sledging party, which should be about April 1, we shall commence our retreat.

What modifications or changes of this plan may be rendered necessary, depend on the exigencies which may arise: no arbitrary rules will hamper the expedition. The party will be small, not more than fifteen all told, five of whom will comprise the scientific staff: force of numbers are of little avail in the conquest of nature. All its members must be willing volunteers, and of course physical hardihood is a pre-requisite. Each man will have his special duties, and must be able to care for himself independently in an emergency. Indeed, there will be no room for novices. While there will be no useless regulations, discipline must be observed. Where a misstep may mean a life, too great caution cannot be exercised.

Two elements will contribute largely to the chances of success. One is the employment of steam in navigation, and the other the fur clothing to ward off the extreme cold. Steam did not become a factor in Antarctic work until the "Challenger" expedition of 1874. Prior to that, the uncertainty of sail was depended upon to force a vessel through the pack ice, and Sir James Ross, among his *confrères*, has remarked that many times there was an open sea ahead, which proved a useless highway because there was not enough wind to fill the sails of his craft. A modern steam vessel would be independent of currents or winds, and, a favorable opportunity presenting itself, could advance in a day the same distance the ships of the early explorers required a week to make. Fur clothing is a matter of great importance to a party wintering in the Antarctic. With the fur costume that I am having made,—a modification of the Eskimo dress,—I am confident that the extremest temperatures can be withstood. This includes a bird-skin under-garment, which I have learned by experience in the Arctic is a great factor in the comfort of an explorer. Nor must the dogs be left out of our calculations, as they will play an important part in the sledge journeys over the inland ice.

I believe that the time is ripe for an expedition to the southern continent. America has astonished the Old World with her rapid strides in the arts of civilization since the comparatively recent period of her birth. If an American expedition unravels the mysteries of the unknown lands about the South Pole of the earth, it will be another jewel added to the crown of her achievements.

FREDERICK A. COOK.

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